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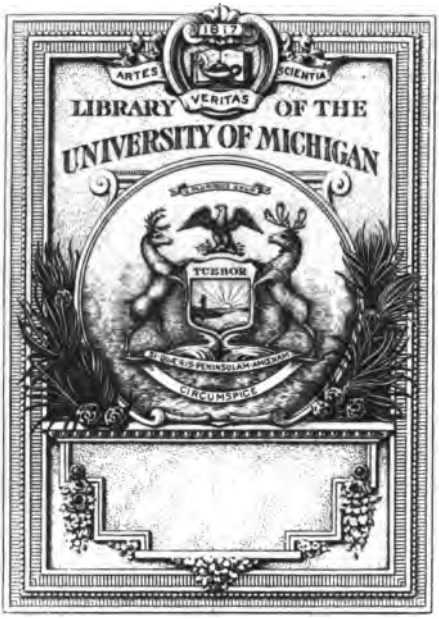
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MEMOIRS

OF

FERDINAND VII.

KING OF THE SPAINS.

BY DON * * * * *

ADVOCATE OF THE SPANISH TRIBUNALS.

TRANSLATED FROM THE ORIGINAL SPANISH MANUSCRIPT,

BY MICHAEL J. QUIN,

AUTHOR OF "A VISIT TO SPAIN, IN 1822 AND 1823."

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PREFACE.

MOTIVES of prudence which, considering the present state of Spain, may be easily divined, have prevented the Author from prefixing his name to this Work. Exiled with many of his countrymen, by the late events which have taken place in the Peninsula, he has left behind him dear connexions and friends, whom he would not willingly expose to the vengeance of the new Government.

The object of these Memoirs is to give a faithful picture of the character of Ferdinand VII. From the period of his manhood to the present hour, not only the incidents of his life, but the dispositions of his heart and the qualities of his mind have had an inevitable influence on the destinies

of his dominions. In a country such as England, where the sovereign is under the controul of law, his personal character is seldom productive of material political consequences. Not so where the monarchy is absolute, as in Spain. There the vices or the virtues of the monarch are felt through all the departments of the state. Every thing emanates from his single will; and those circumstances, whether of temper or of accident, by which that will is affected, demand a leading place in the political history of the nation.

Considering that the picture of those six years which followed Ferdinand's restoration to the throne of Spain in 1814, furnishes one of the most painful subjects of contemplation that can be offered to a philosopher or an historian, it was indeed a difficult task for the Author to speak at all times in the language of impartiality and moderation. He has, however, imposed great restraint upon himself in this part of his labour: he has felt the necessity of raising himself above the passions of the moment, and of detailing all that he knew of the subject-matter of these Memoirs, as if it related to the period of Philip II.

With respect to the religious and political opinions which appear throughout these pages, the Author thinks it but fair to state, that there are very many of them, more particularly under the former head, from which his translator dissents. This difference of opinion did not, however, prevent that gentleman from executing the task which the Author had many reasons for requesting him to undertake.

The documents which will be found in the Appendix are all unquestionably authentic. They are mostly taken from the file of the *Moniteur*, and so far as they go, it will be observed that they shed great light on the earlier portion of these Memoirs. With respect to those parts of the narrative which are unsupported by official papers, they depend chiefly upon the author's personal knowledge, and information derived from his friends; and if he have committed any errors, there are numbers of his countrymen in England at this moment who can have no difficulty in correcting them.

THE AUTHOR.

London, 17th December, 1823.

MEMOIRS

OF

FERDINAND VII.

KING OF THE SPAINS.

FERDINAND of Bourbon was born in the Escurial, on the 14th of October, 1784. From his earliest years he was the victim of two fatal circumstances, which powerfully influenced all the events of his life: a weak and delicate temperament, and the hatred which his mother entertained towards him; a hatred which increased in violence in proportion as her passion became stronger for Don Manuel Godoy, Prince of the Peace.

The education of Ferdinand was confided exclusively to men who owed all their fortunes to the protection of the favourite: amongst them a canon of Toledo, Don Juan Escoiquiz was the only person distinguished for literary acquirements; to which he added an enterprising and a fearless character.

In regulating the course of education for the Prince of Asturias, Godoy adopted principles similar to those which had been acted upon in other countries, by a Mortimer, a Richelieu, and a Bute. The permanence of his own elevation being incompatible with those ideas which would naturally be cherished by the heir to the crown, his interests required that that personage should be rendered dependent and submissive, and reduced to a state of mere nullity. He left no means untried to carry this design into effect. Ferdinand's tutors were obliged to follow the line which was traced out for them by the Prince of the Peace. He was surrounded by spies, and a court was formed for him, consisting of the most ignorant men, whose only care was to perpetuate his infancy, and to keep him at a distance from the scene of public affairs.

Thus the situation of the Prince of Asturias, in his father's court, was one of entire dependence; it was sweetened by no enjoyment, it was redeemed by none of that political importance which his near relation to the throne ought to have given him; for every consideration of this kind yielded to the irresistible power, the oriental luxury, and the unbounded patronage of the Prince of the Peace. The Queen, who foresaw the misfortunes which might happen to her favourite, if the Prince of Asturias should ever open his eyes upon his situation, and endeavour to recover the rank and

influence which of right belonged to him, put into active operation all the means which she could derive from her intriguing character, her treasures and her uncontrolled power in the court of Charles IV, in order to persecute her first-born son, and to trouble and embitter the tenour of his life. Hence sprang a domestic war, of which the nation could not be an indifferent spectator. Although it cannot be said that the country was divided into two political parties, yet two opinions prevailed, which made themselves sufficiently apparent. One of these was favourable to the Prince of the Peace, the other to the Prince of Asturias. On the side of the former were naturally ranged the greater number of the ambitious, all the high public officers, and a few political optimists, who expected that the favourite would introduce considerable reforms and changes into the public institutions. But the great mass of the nation who, on one hand, had witnessed the disorder and the misfortunes in which the government was involved from the time that Godoy directed the helm, and on the other sympathized in the unhappy fate of a prince destined in the course of time to occupy the Spanish throne, became every day more and more attached to him, and gathered together by degrees those elements of exasperation and of hatred, which were calculated, sooner or later, to produce a decisive explosion.

It is not beside our purpose to cast a rapid

glance over the moral state of the Spanish nation at the period of which we treat. The individual who ruled the destinies of Spain without any opposition or control, had risen to the elevated station which he enjoyed by means that were at variance with the simplest rules of decorum, and with the most sacred obligations which divine or human law imposes upon society. This direful germ of corruption produced in a very short time the most appalling consequences. All ideas of morality were subverted amongst the higher classes; public decency was sacrificed to the rage for aggrandizement, and to the desire of paying homage to the idol of the day. The sovereign, who appeared before the eyes of his subjects covered with that peculiar disgrace, which is insupportable even to men of the lowest degree, sanctioned either by his sufferance or his neglect, those very disorders which were most incompatible with the welfare of the community. Corruption stalked through the land with frightful strides. It was the only means by which objects of ambition, and even sometimes the ends of justice, were attained. The husband sold his wife, the father his daughter, the brother his sister. The public employments, the riches of the State, the favour of the King, were all in the hands of one man, who distributed them according to the suggestion of his passions, or the momentary caprices of his fancy. The tribunals pronounced no sentence without previously consulting

his interests, or his inclinations; and the clergy, who have since dared to invoke the assistance of Heaven, in order to enkindle a fratricidal war, placed on the altars the image of Godoy next to that of the Son of God. The course of public affairs, and the management of all the departments which form the system of government, followed the impulse which they received from the centre of all these disorders. Confusion in the administration, arbitrary proceedings on the part of those who exercised any authority, the necessity of sustaining an illegitimate power by violent and perfidious means, the plunder of the national treasury by a man insatiable of wealth, and persecutions carried on against distinguished persons, who had endeavoured to oppose themselves to this torrent of public calamity, were so many circumstances from which an attentive observer might perceive the approach of one of those crises, by which nations are regenerated or overthrown.

An epoch, however, was at hand which gave rise to new hopes, and seemed calculated to remove, without violence, the immense power which had lifted itself upon the ruins of the national honour and of the public welfare. The expected marriage between Ferdinand and Maria Antonia of Bourbon, daughter of the King of Naples, was about to be concluded. All Spain entertained hopes of the happiest results from this union,

and the Prince ardently desired it as likely to afford him a favourable opportunity for emancipating himself from a painful slavery, and for acquiring at least the rank of manhood, which had been hitherto denied him. This marriage, and that of Ferdinand's sister with the heir apparent of Naples, were celebrated with great pomp and brilliant demonstrations of joy at Barcelona; and although an event of so much importance ought naturally to have excited the attention of the whole country, yet it did not eclipse Godoy's splendour for a moment, nor diminish, in the slightest degree, his influence in the court and the nation. The royal personages arrived in the capital, where all those who wished for a material change in the direction of public affairs, fixed all their hopes upon the princess of Asturias.

This young princess was gifted by nature with a brilliant understanding, and a decided character. She received from her mother an education, which was well calculated to develope and improve those qualifications. She was familiarly conversant with the principal languages of Europe, with the elegant literature of ancient and modern times, and was no stranger to those legislative and political theories which for some years have deeply engaged the attention of the most eminent men in the philosophical world. The natural independence of her character was strengthened, and increased, in a court, in which the despotic rules of

etiquette had undergone very considerable modifications; and the information which she had received concerning the lamentable situation of her husband, inspired her with the noble ambition of restoring him to the dignity of which he had been hitherto deprived. The royal family of Naples had been instructed in the school of adversity: it had struggled with fortune, and sustained the consequences of human vicissitudes. Hence it had shaken off that lethargy in which princes are accustomed to live, when great events do not happen to disturb their ease, and to dispel those illusions of power and splendour by which they are surrounded. Queen Caroline, who had directed the cabinet during the important crisis, in which her throne was involved by the French revolution and the invasion of Italy, had clearly foreseen the mortifications to which her daughter would be exposed, in a court where her rank alone, as Ferdinand's consort, would be sufficient to excite against her so many and such powerful enemies; and she had given her such advice as she thought would enable her to destroy them, and to invest herself with their power.

But all these gifts of nature and of education, and all these measures of policy, were of no avail; the influence and intrigues of Maria Louisa dissipated all these flattering hopes, and Maria Antonia, instead of being the liberator of her husband, was nothing more than the companion of his

slavery and misfortunes. The few years of their union, an unhappy one in every respect, terminated in the untimely death of the princess, which was generally imputed to the hatred of her persecutors. The suicide of the Palace Apothecary, which took place a few months after, and the circumstance of a letter which he had left behind him having quickly disappeared in the hands of the police, fortified those suspicions, heightened the exasperation of the country, and excited a general desire to put an end to evils of such a serious and formidable character.

The Prince derived from the converse of his late wife, some ideas which taught him to perceive the whole extent of his degraded situation, and to entertain hopes of rescuing himself from it. These hopes were encouraged by the discord which prevailed in the palace. The apartment of the Prince was a point of union for a number of courtiers, who had not as yet surrendered every feeling of virtue and honour. Escoiquiz took no pains to conceal his own indignation, and he endeavoured to inflame that of the Prince. The result of this slight effervescence was, that several other persons declared against the favourite. Conversations and negotiations took place between different parties, and hopes were entertained, very imprudently, of a triumph which they believed to be secure. The vigilance of the stronger party was in consequence excited, and the weaker was

soon completely overthrown. Escoiquiz was sent to Toledo, under a strong military escort; all the prince's servants were banished, and his court was formed of four or five of the most stupid persons in the palace, to whom the most minute instructions were given, extending even to the amusements in which the Prince should be allowed to indulge, and the conversations which he should be permitted to hold. In the mean time Godoy was appointed general-in-chief of the Spanish army, and admiral of the navy; and not content even with this vast accumulation of power, he got the King to sign a decree, investing him with new attributes, which raised him to a perfect equality with the sovereign. The army was entirely at his command, and the corps of artillery, which has always been considered one of the most respectable bodies amongst the military forces of Spain, placed the family arms of Godoy on their standards.

Thus the patience of the Spanish people was pressed to the last degree of forbearance, exasperated as they were, not only by the measureless ambition of this man, but also by the facility with which the laws and customs of the realm were violated and overruled, in order to administer to his thirst for power. The dependents of the Prince of the Peace, who held the military and political commands in the provinces, vain of the powerful patronage by which they were supported, oppressed and scandalized the people by their insolence, their

petulance, and their disorderly conduct. The treasury was exhausted, notwithstanding the immense sums which came from the colonies. In order to meet the exigencies of the state, and to feed the insatiable avarice of Godoy, it became necessary to overcharge the people with new contributions, which were carried to such an extent, that in several commercial establishments the rights of property were openly disregarded. Each one of these abuses added to the number of the discontented, whose complaints began to be expressed without any disguise, notwithstanding the activity of a police which had been organized for the sole purpose of securing the favourite's power. The friends of the Prince of Asturias saw the sphere of their hopes grow wider from day to day, and they collected strength to make another effort.

Escoiquiz left Toledo in disguise, and came to Madrid, where, by using the most careful precautions, he found means to obtain interviews with several personages, who could assist him in any enterprise which might be undertaken in favour of Ferdinand. Count Beauharnais, the French ambassador, evinced himself particularly disposed in favour of the Prince, and, as we shall see in the sequel, compromised himself in order to assist him. The Duke del Infantado, whose enmity to Godoy had banished him from court, and deprived him of the offices which he held in it, offered his influence

and his fortune. Other grandees of Spain, such as Orgaz, Ayerbe, and San Carlos, entered into the plan; and some inferior persons in the service of Ferdinand, promised such co-operation as was in their power.

Ferdinand was anxious that his friends should take some decisive steps, before the celebration of his marriage with the sister of the Princess of the Peace, who was the daughter of the Infante Don Louis, brother of Charles III. This marriage was projected by Godoy, and the unhappy Ferdinand had already given his consent to it. At the moment that every thing was prepared for execution, Ferdinand addressed a letter to Napoleon, dated from the Escurial, 11th of October, 1807, in which, after expressing in the warmest terms, the sentiments of respect, esteem, and kindness which he entertained towards a hero "who eclipsed all those that had gone before him, and who was sent by Providence to save Europe from the confusion with which it had been threatened," he described the melancholy situation in which he was placed, occasioned by the perfidious and selfish persons who surrounded his father's throne; and he concluded with assuring him of his ardent wish to form a connexion with the august family of Napoleon, entreating him to grant this favour, in return for which he would prove "a grateful son," declaring his determination to reject any union,

which would not be sanctioned by the consent and approbation of his Imperial Majesty *.

The plan concerted by the friends of the Prince was, that, a day or two after having written the letter just mentioned, he should proceed to his royal father's apartment, and place in his hands a memorial relative to the state of the nation, describing all the evils by which it was oppressed, and tracing their origin to the unbounded power exercised by Don Manuel Godoy, Prince of the Peace. Ferdinand was to read this document to his father, and then to speak to him upon it in a firm and decided manner, and in case the King should not accede to his entreaties, he was to call in the distinguished personages with whom he acted, in order that they might corroborate his assertions, and support his complaints. But no opportunity was given for the execution of this plan; for Godoy discovered the whole affair, and reported it to the King, representing it as nothing less than a conspiracy formed against the lives of his Majesty and the Queen. Charles IV, painfully surprised by such a sudden and horrible event, and blinded more than ever by the confidence which he reposed in the declared enemy of his son, acted entirely by his dictation, and, in compliance with his advice, placing himself at the head of his guard, he proceeded to Ferdinand's

* See Appendix for the documents.

apartment, in the palace of the Escurial, on the 29th of October, 1807, and had him conducted to a chamber, which was converted into a perfect prison. There, in the presence of his ministers, he demanded his sword from him; informed him that he was a prisoner, and left him guarded by sentinels, and surrounded by attendants, who were entirely in the confidence of Godoy. All the Prince's papers were seized, and several persons were arrested both at the Escurial and in Madrid.

Among those papers was found the memorial, the reading and presentation of which, were to have been the principal part of the conspiracy; it was wholly written in the hand of Ferdinand, and filled with severe truths, expressed in the most energetic language. Besides this, there were also found a paper, in which the projected union of Ferdinand with the sister of the Prince of Peace was treated under disguised names; a letter written by Escoiquiz; some cyphers which served for the correspondence of the deceased Princess of Asturias with her mother; and a commission of generalissimo in favour of the Duke del Infantado, giving him full powers to act in the name of Ferdinand, in case that, after the demise of his father, any person should oppose his accession to the crown.

The following day, Ferdinand being informed that his father had gone out to hunt, sent an attendant to his mother, to request that either she would come to him in his prison, or that she would

permit him to go to her apartment, in order that he might disclose to her some matters of the greatest importance. The Queen sent him word that it was not possible for her to comply with either of his requests, but that he might communicate to Caballero, the minister of grace and justice, whatever he thought fit. Caballero immediately presented himself to Ferdinand, who wrote and signed, in his presence, a detailed statement, in which he spontaneously revealed all the particulars of the event that had brought him to the prison where he now was; described the letter which he had written to the Emperor of the French, the part which Escoiquiz had taken in framing the memorial that was to have been delivered to the King, and in the other measures of preparation for the conspiracy; and finally discovered the names of all the persons who had been his confidants and accomplices in the enterprise. Some of these persons, upon whom hitherto no suspicion whatever had fallen, were instantly ordered to be apprehended.

Charles IV. transmitted an account of this event to Napoleon, in terms which fully proved the ascendancy exercised over him by the Prince of the Peace. The letter was drawn up entirely in the King's hand-writing, and formed a dreadful accusation against Ferdinand, charging him with a design to dethrone his father, and to take away the life of his mother. He moreover declared that

the law of the succession was to be revoked, and that one of Ferdinand's brothers should replace him in the heart and throne of his parents*.

At the same time the King issued an address to the people of Spain, informing them that Providence had just saved him from a shocking catastrophe; that his life was an obstacle in the way of his successor, who, violating every principle of religion, had formed a project for dethroning him; that his Majesty had taken pains to convince himself, with his own eyes, of the truth of the facts, and that he had discovered the cyphers of the correspondence which was carried on between Ferdinand and his accomplices; and finally, that his Majesty had no wish to conceal from his subjects the occurrence of a calamity, which however, he doubted not, would be alleviated by the demonstrations of their loyalty.

Ferdinand was summoned before his royal parents, who, in the presence of the ministers and the governor of the council of Castille, endeavoured to prevail on him to confess the project of assassination and dethronement. But the Prince firmly persisted in assuring them that all his plans, and the whole extent of his conspiracy, appeared in the papers which had been seized.

Nevertheless, when he was sent back to his prison, some personages of the court, who went to visit

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* See the Documents in the Appendix.

him, gave him to understand that the only means which he had of preserving himself from punishment of the severest nature, was to acknowledge frankly the crime which was laid to his charge: which Ferdinand accordingly did confess in the very words that were dictated to him. Besides this, he wrote separate letters to his father and mother, in which he begged pardon of them in the most submissive manner, declaring himself guilty not only of the high crime against the authors of his existence, of which he was accused, but also of obstinacy in having up to that moment persisted in denying the truth; and concluding with a request that he might be allowed the favour to throw himself at their feet. This boon was granted to him in the presence of the Prince of the Peace, who interceded with the King and the Queen to grant a free and unrestricted pardon to their son, in consequence of which Ferdinand gave him the strongest assurances of his regard and confidence. The following day Charles IV. had the two letters published to the country, declaring at the same time that, although he had forgiven his son, the proceedings in the cause would still be followed up, and that the nation would be made acquainted with the results, in order to remove the alarm that was felt in consequence of the dangers which had threatened their sovereign. The cause subsequently continued its course, but without presenting any grounds on which the judges could inflict the slightest punish-

ment upon the accused, notwithstanding the fear with which the omnipotence of the Prince of the Peace had inspired them: and although such was the fact, the King banished them to different parts of the realm.

Godoy sent an account of these transactions to the Duke de Berg, for the purpose of its being submitted to Napoleon; and the reader may imagine the acrimony, and the partiality, which characterized his statement. He, however, related one circumstance which was calculated to produce important results; namely, the understanding which existed between Escoiquiz and the French ambassador Beauharnais, and the promises which the latter made of the Emperor's protection in favour of Ferdinand. In consequence of this charge, which was exceedingly disagreeable to the Emperor of the French, Beauharnais was severely reprimanded by his Court, and deprived of all confidential and authentic knowledge of those plans, which his imperial master had conceived with respect to Spain.

Those plans derived their origin from the secret treaty of peace concluded at Tilsit, in which, stipulations were made for the dethronement of that branch of the Bourbon dynasty which reigned in the Peninsula, and for the transference of its crown to a brother of Napoleon. In order to carry his purpose into effect, Napoleon affected to lend himself to those designs, which the ambition of Godoy had dictated to the Spanish cabinet, and

a secret treaty was signed at Fontainebleau, on the 27th of October, 1807, between the Emperor, represented by Marshal Duroc, and Charles IV, represented by Izquierdo, councillor of state, which may be considered as the parent of all those great events, of which Spain soon after became the theatre.

According to the terms of this treaty, the King of Etruria was to cede his dominions in Tuscany to Napoleon, receiving in exchange the province of Entre Duero and Migno, in Portugal, the city of Oporto, and the title of King of Northern Lusitania: the province of Alentejo, and the kingdom of the Algarves, in Portugal, were to be given to the Prince of the Peace, with the title of Prince of the Algarves; the other Portuguese provinces were to remain in deposit until a general peace, when Charles IV. and Napoleon would finally dispose of them in the manner they might deem most expedient. This treaty contained several other arrangements, all of great importance, and calculated to promote Napoleon's vast plan of universal empire in Europe. But the article which was appended to it, was of more consequence than the treaty itself, as, in order to carry it into effect, a convention was signed the same day for the occupation of Portugal by French and Spanish troops, and for the passage of the former through the Spanish territory—a measure which, considering the boundless ambition of Napoleon, and the in-

difference with which he contemplated the means of attaining any proposed end, ought to have been looked upon as the precursor of a general change in the political existence of Spain.

Such was the situation of the Spaniards, and so exasperated were their minds, in consequence of the disorders which prevailed in the government, and of the defalcations which appeared in the public finances, that when this convention began to be put into execution by the French troops proceeding to occupy the Peninsula, they were generally received as liberators and as beneficent friends. Information, moreover, was pretty widely diffused amongst the different classes of society, notwithstanding the opposing influence of the clergy, and the rigorous prohibitions of the Inquisition; vague desires and plans of extensive political reform were warmly entertained by many; the spectacle of the riches, and preponderance of the French nation stimulated the pride of the country, and hence arose a general opinion, that the presence of those armies could not be otherwise than productive of auspicious consequences, and of great and salutary alterations. Well informed Spaniards were anxious to see freedom of worship established in their country; they wished for a national representation—a judicial administration founded upon wisdom, a system of public economy, and all those social improvements which the cultivation of reason has wrought

in modern communities; and they fondly imagined that all these blessings would be a necessary consequence of the entry of the French armies.

Those armies, to a much greater number than had been stipulated for in the convention, spread themselves over Old Castille, Navarre, Biscay, and Catalonia, and took possession of the principal fortified places in all these provinces, without meeting the slightest opposition. Wherever they appeared, they were well received by the inhabitants, particularly those of the higher classes, who entertained them sumptuously, and lived with them in the most perfect harmony. In the beginning, the people had no complaint to make of their violence, or want of discipline. If a French soldier committed the least excess, he was severely punished on the spot by his superior officers. The latter endeavoured, by every means in their power, to win the good opinion both of the Spanish people and army, who far from receiving the French troops with hostility, entertained hopes that their organization and discipline, would serve as a model to the Spanish ministry, for putting the armed force of Spain upon an equal footing.

In the mean time, the natural impatience of Napoleon, and his anxiety to accelerate the completion of his plans with respect to the Peninsula, were powerfully stimulated by the discord which prevailed in the royal family, and by the moral si-

tuation in which, by reason of that discord, the country was placed. He knew that the occupation of the Spanish territory by the French troops, notwithstanding the concord which had hitherto prevailed between them and the troops and people of Spain, might subsequently meet with serious obstacles. He felt that the interest generally inspired by the Prince of Asturias, might one day awaken the national character, and rouse Spain from the lethargy in which she was slumbering. He reflected that the letter which the Prince had written to him, and the conduct pursued by Beauharnais in Madrid, might give rise to an opinion in Spain and in Europe, that the Court of Paris was inclined to support the ideas, and forward the hopes of the heir to the crown; and that from all this a great many difficulties might follow, which would impede his plan of placing a Buonaparte on the throne of Spain. The treaty of Fontainebleau was already partly executed, not only by the entry of the French troops into Spain, but by the departure of the royal family from Etruria, who came to Madrid to seek an asylum in their paternal palace. It was now no longer possible for Napoleon to defer his grand project, without exposing it to the hazard of failing in all its parts. He deeply felt the importance of the crisis in which he was placed: never did he appear so agitated or so thoughtful: the Prince of Maserano, the Spanish ambassador, and Don Eugenio Izquierdo, Godoy's

agent, were continually summoned to the presence of the French ministers, in order to remove the doubts and uncertainties of his mind. At length he was no longer able to dissemble the object which he had in view; and without any regard for the pending stipulations, which were already sanctioned by the accession of Tuscany to the French empire, he dispatched Izquierdo, in the month of February 1808, to Madrid, to inform Charles IV. that in consequence of the actual state of affairs in Europe, the interest of France indispensably required the incorporation of the provinces, situated between the Pyrenees and the Ebro, with the French empire; that he hoped the Spanish Cabinet would accede to this proposition, and that, by way of indemnity, he offered to his Catholic Majesty the whole of Portugal, and every other advantage which would appear to be compatible with the safety and dignity of the imperial throne.

Napoleon charged Izquierdo to perform his journey with the greatest expedition, and to bring him back an answer as speedily as possible, as upon it depended those ulterior measures which he would irrevocably take according to circumstances. Not content with this, he sent courier after courier to Madrid; while in the mean time his guard was marching towards the Pyrenees, and all France was in motion and making fresh sacrifices of men and money.

But even before the arrival of Izquierdo, his patron perceived all the inconvenient conse-

quences of his docility, and foresaw the results which would necessarily follow from the extraordinary measures which were taken with respect to Spain. "My apprehensions are great," said Godoy, writing to Izquierdo; "the treaty no longer exists, the kingdom is covered with troops; the entrances to Portugal are about to be occupied; Junot commands them all; the French Cabinet has demanded the remainder of our squadrons, which are about to join those of the Emperor; all is intrigue and distrust! What will be the result of these uncertainties?"

They were soon over. The message brought by Izquierdo no longer left any doubt as to the real objects of Napoleon, and his own private observations, as well as the information which he obtained in France, from men who were well versed in public affairs, and in the views of the French Cabinet, were, if possible, still more alarming. In effect, he made it evident, that the Emperor wished the answer to his demand to be in the negative, in order that he might make use of it as a pretext for strong and decisive measures; that the commanders of the French troops in Spain had private instructions relative to the royal family; that the establishment of a prince of Napoleon's dynasty on the Spanish throne, was one great object indicated by the state of Europe, and by the system hitherto pursued by the Emperor; that the interests of his policy were incompatible with the existence of a branch of the Bourbon fa-

mily on the continent of Europe; and finally, that the peninsular situation of Spain, the number and convenience of its harbours, and the important resources which it offered for maritime war, were calculated to afford him great facilities for extending the general blockade of Europe, which was the leading principle of his policy against England. To this intelligence Izquierdo added some observations, drawn from that acquaintance with political affairs, which he had acquired during a long residence in Paris. He stated that upon the resolution which the Spanish ministry would adopt in these arduous circumstances, depended not only the fate of the Peninsula, but also, in a great measure, that of the whole European continent; that if the King wished to make head against the torrent, and to remain in his kingdom, he would run the hazard of exasperating Napoleon, and forcing him to proceed to violent measures; that if, on the other hand, he resolved to remove to his American colonies, the French troops would occupy the Spanish territory without any opposition, as they had already occupied that of Portugal upon a similar pretext; that, above all things, it was necessary to sound the people and the army without delay, and, whatever part they were to take, that they should resolve upon it forthwith, since Napoleon was as expeditious in executing his plans, as he was fearless in conceiving them. Day after day added strength to these apprehensions, and there no longer remained any doubt about them, when

Napoleon, shortly after the arrival of Izquierdo, sent one of his chamberlains to the King of Spain with fourteen Norman horses as a present, and a letter in which he informed him that he had resolved to visit the Peninsula, not only that he might enjoy the satisfaction of becoming personally acquainted with his august ally, but also that he might terminate in a friendly manner, and without the assistance of diplomatic forms, all the negotiations relative to the political condition of Spain and Portugal.

The answer of the Spanish Cabinet to the message brought by Izquierdo was in substance, that his Catholic Majesty agreed to the incorporation of the provinces situated between the Pyrenees and the Ebro with the French empire, and that with respect to indemnities for that loss, as well as for the loss of the kingdom of Etruria, Spain confided in the justice and magnanimity of the Emperor, and hoped that he would not look with indifference upon the interests of a government, which had given him so many proofs of fidelity, attachment, and esteem.

With respect to Napoleon's projected journey to Spain, the public received no information from the answer of Charles IV.; but it is known that after Izquierdo's return to Paris, the negotiations were resumed between him and the French ministers. The latter were either ignorant of Napoleon's designs for the final settlement of Spain, or they treacherously continued to sustain the character of

negotiators, as they made new propositions for the territorial division of the Peninsula, for an offensive and a defensive alliance, and entered into other matters of detail that were incompatible with the invasion of the Spanish territory, which was taking place at the very instant they were brought forward.

It was now full time for Charles IV. to come to a decision, and there was, unhappily, no favourable choice which he could adopt, or whose results could in any manner be expected to prove beneficial. Godoy, pressed by the approach of the French, and by the hatred of the people of the capital, which was already evincing itself too openly and too energetically to be misunderstood, proposed the removal of the royal family to Seville, and from thence to Mexico. The King and Queen consented to this suggestion, and agreed that it should be kept strictly secret until the moment of its execution. It was communicated only to Soler, the Minister of Finance, who was to accompany the King on his voyage. But the courtiers soon penetrated the design; and eventually the Marquis de Caballero, Minister of Grace and Justice, after a long conference with Charles IV, in which he impressed upon him the inevitable consequences of his absence, prevailed upon him to revoke the decree for the journey, which was already drawn out, and advised the monarch to wait with firmness for the arrival of him who might

now be considered as an enemy, and to confide in Providence and the loyalty of the nation. This was a fatal blow to the Prince of the Peace, not only because he saw the ascendancy, which he had hitherto exercised over the King's mind, completely overthrown, but also because, whatever course events might take, in no case could they be propitious to his objects. For the same reasons, the counsel given by Caballero afforded the greatest pleasure to the Prince of Asturias and all his friends, who poured forth the greatest eulogiums upon that minister, and promised themselves the happiest results from the triumph which he had obtained.

As if, however, to frustrate all these hopes, the army was under the immediate orders of Godoy, and, as he had directed various military arrangements with a view to the intended journey, the movements which the troops made in consequence, excited the attention of the public, and inspired the most serious apprehensions. The court was then at Aranjuez, where, contrary to custom on such occasions, not only all the Spanish regiments of the guard, as well as the Walloons, were seen arriving, but also several other bodies of the army. At the same time the troops who were marching towards Portugal were countermanded in their movements, and ordered to proceed to Cordova, Seville, and Cadiz, and the marine department in the latter city were directed to fit out and hold in

readiness several ships of war. The population of Madrid, which is little more than a collection of persons who are dependent on the court, and who live by its prodigal expenditure, could not look with indifference upon the prospect of an event, which, by removing the royal family, would deprive them of all their sources of prosperity. The public discontent began to shew itself with more decision and energy, than could be expected from a people bowed down for so many years beneath the yoke of absolute power. From Madrid this murmuring agitation spread to La Mancha, a province, on the boundary of which the royal residence of Aranjuez is situated, and which at that time was one of the richest, most populous, and flourishing parts of the Peninsula. There were, besides, several secret agents of Ferdinand's party scattered over it, who distributed money amongst the inhabitants, and painted to them, in the liveliest colours, the state of restraint to which that Prince was subjected, and the absolute sway which Godoy, his greatest enemy, exercised over all the departments of the government. The people of La Mancha, whose ardent character and noble dispositions have been displayed in all the political convulsions of the country, felt the greatest interest in the fate of the royal family. Having assembled together in a vast multitude, they proceeded to Aranjuez, where their presence and the intentions by which they appeared to be actuated,

filled Godoy, and the ministers of his party, with the greatest alarm, and determined them to induce the royal family to set out during the night of the 17th of March, 1808, in the direction of Seville, without guards, or attendants. It was also intended that they should avoid, if possible, being recognized by the people who crowded the approaches to the palace.

Ferdinand being informed of this design, and being stimulated by the marks of attachment which he began to receive from the people, mentioned, on the morning of that day, to several persons in the palace, that the journey was fixed to take place during the night, but that he was determined not to quit Aranjuez. These words were repeated from mouth to mouth through the guards, and among the courtiers; they increased the agitation of the people, and gave them to understand that the Prince counted on their support. Several numerous groups assembled, armed with stakes, and silently traversed the streets of the town and the gardens of the palace. Impressed with the idea that the King was going to abandon them, they formed a resolution of resisting every attempt to proceed upon the proposed journey. The troops of the line, and the greatest part of the royal guards, were under the same impression, and were inspired by similar feelings. At seven o'clock in the evening the guard of the Prince of the Peace, which was rendered odious to the peo-

ple and the army, in consequence of the privileges it enjoyed, was all in motion. One of that body made an effort to inspect the countenance of a lady who came out from the Prince's apartments, and who was one of his numerous female visitors; and she offering some slight resistance, the sentinel fired in the air. The trumpeter of the corps, supposing this to be the signal for commencing the journey, in which the Prince's guard was to assist, gave the sound for the cavalry to mount. The malcontents, not doubting that the proper moment was arrived for resisting an event of which they so strongly disapproved, were immediately on the alert. They surrounded the palace, occupied all the places by which it was possible to escape from the town, and made an attack upon the house of Godoy, who succeeded in concealing himself, and for this time avoided the fury of his enemies. The King appeared in the balcony, and, addressing the people, assured them that the journey would not take place, in consequence of which they all withdrew, and a general persuasion prevailed that the favourite had fled several hours ago, and was already many leagues from Aranjuez.

The following day, however, fresh symptoms of disquietude appeared. The people were not satisfied with what had been hitherto done, and the experiment which they had made of their strength, inspired them with a wish to prove it in a more decisive manner. Charles IV. learned that they

were making preparations to excite fresh tumults that night; the ministers attempted to induce the commanders of the troops to oppose and repress them; but these refused in the most positive manner to undertake so dangerous an enterprise, and declared that the Prince of Asturias alone could dissuade the people from realizing their designs. Ferdinand being summoned into the presence of his parents, who were overwhelmed with affliction and fear, said that he had not the slightest information as to the projects of the malcontents; but that he would send for some persons who exercised an influence over them, and would entreat of them to induce the people to cease from every thing like insubordination. He added, that he was ready to take every necessary measure for securing the dignity and peace of the authors of his existence.

But while Ferdinand was employed in giving effect to his promises, an incident occurred which hastened the result of the drama. Godoy, who had lain concealed beneath some mats, since the attack that was made upon his house on the 17th, was compelled by a parching thirst to emerge from his hiding-place. From the first sentinel whom he met, he begged a glass of water, offering him in return a magnificent gold repeater, and some pieces of money of the same metal. The soldier, far from agreeing to his offer, shouted out that the traitor was abroad, and upon the instant he was

surrounded by an immense multitude who dragged him down the staircase. They maltreated him, and wounded him in several parts of his body, and would have put an end to his existence, if Ferdinand had not made his appearance at the request of the King, attended by some of the body guards. He cried out that he would answer for the person of Godoy, and that it was necessary to suffer him to live, in order that proceedings might be taken against him, and that his accomplices might be discovered. The people respectfully yielded, and the unfortunate favourite was conducted between a double guard, and through a multitude of upwards of forty thousand persons, who heaped upon him all sorts of insults and maledictions, to a prison where he was kept in custody, and where a judge, very shortly after, made his appearance in order to commence the proceedings, by taking down his declarations.

Ferdinand returned to the palace, hearing himself hailed as King by the multitude, and surrounded by many persons who the day before were the flatterers of his enemy. The King and Queen, with whom only a few old and faithful servants remained, were sunk in the most profound affliction. Ferdinand consoled them as far as he could, by assuring them that the people respected and loved them, that a single word had not been uttered against them, and that Aranjuez would be speedily cleared of the immense

crowds which circumstances had assembled there. Charles IV, burthened with years and suffering under infirmities, being now deprived of the assistance of the man in whom he had reposed all his confidence for so long a space of time, naturally averse to business, and incapable of adopting resolutions suitable to arduous conjunctures, consulted the ministers and several persons of the court, upon the course which it would be expedient for him to pursue under the present circumstances; and they all unanimously advised him to abdicate in favour of his son. Maria Louisa, who must have lost all hope of ever seeing Godoy restored to the power which he had so long enjoyed, possessed only with the idea of rescuing him from the hands of his enemies, and of spending the remainder of her days with him in some remote part of the world, offered no opposition to this suggestion; and Charles signed the decree of his abdication in favour of Ferdinand on the 19th of March.

In the letter in which Charles gave an account to the French Emperor of this important event, he stated that in consequence of his health becoming every day worse and worse, he found it necessary to change his residence to a milder climate, and to give up the management of public affairs; that, in consequence of that resolution, he had abdicated the crown in favour of his well-beloved son, the Prince of Asturias; and he ex-

pressed his hope that from the ties which connected the two countries, and from the partial esteem which he felt personally towards the Emperor, his Imperial Majesty would deign to approve of this measure. He added, that he entertained this hope with the greater confidence, as the sentiments which he had endeavoured to impart to his son with respect to his Imperial Majesty, had made a profound impression on his mind, and it could not be doubted that he would seek, by every means in his power, to confirm the bonds by which the two states were united.

Ferdinand was proclaimed King by a people intoxicated with joy, and full of the most sanguine hopes. The public enthusiasm was equally great in Madrid, where the inhabitants had plundered the houses of Godoy and his principal dependents. Soon after, it became still more fervent, when it was seen that the young King conferred the highest offices in the government upon the most liberal and enlightened men in Spain, who had been banished and persecuted on account of the severity with which they had censured the measures and abuses of the favourite.

This individual, although confined to a prison, wounded, and surrounded by enemies, yielded not to the weight of his misfortunes, nor abandoned for a moment the habits of superiority to which so many years of favour had accustomed him. He knew that the French troops would accelerate

their march to Madrid, in consequence of the events which had taken place at Aranjuez, and he had many strong motives for fixing all his hopes upon the commander-in-chief, Joaquin Murat, Grand Duke of Berg, with whom he had been for some time in intimate correspondence. Whether it was, that, notwithstanding the vigilance with which he was guarded, he found an opportunity of communicating these ideas to the Queen Maria Louisa, or whether the Queen herself was actuated by similar sentiments, on account of her being so perfectly conversant with the Prince's negotiations, or whether it was that the Queen of Etruria, the declared enemy of Ferdinand, and the intimate friend of Godoy, looked at the state of affairs under a point of view different from that under which it was contemplated by the King and Queen, and wished to extricate them victoriously from the struggle—what is certain is, that Charles IV. signed, on the 21st of March, a solemn protest against his abdication, declaring that it was an act which should be considered as null, and of no value or effect whatever, inasmuch as he was forced to adopt it in order to avoid greater misfortunes, and to prevent the effusion of the blood of his beloved subjects.

With this view he wrote to Napoleon, announcing the resolution which he had taken of going to throw himself into his arms, and to submit entirely to his disposal, as he alone could

ensure the felicity of himself, his family, and his kingdom. He added, that his abdication had been signed amidst the din of arms and the clamour of a mutinous guard, under the conviction that he had to choose between life and death, both for himself and the Queen; but that he was now in a state of greater security, and that he had formed the resolution of leaving every thing to the decision of the Emperor, both as concerned himself, the Queen, and the Prince of the Peace.

While these extraordinary events were awakening all the attention of the Spaniards, and arousing them from that state of blind and passive obedience to which they had been so long accustomed, Murat, who had the chief command of all the French troops in Spain, hastened his march to Madrid. He had received intelligence at Aranda de Duero of the insurrection at Aranjuez; and his arrival was anxiously expected by Maria Louisa and her daughter. They were eager not only to rescue Godoy from the unhappy situation in which he was placed, but also to create a division between the French and Ferdinand, and to prevent the Emperor from recognizing him as the lawful King of Spain.

With a view to these two objects, Maria Louisa opened a correspondence with Murat, which was kept up for several days with the greatest activity, not only by her, but by her daughter, the Queen of Etruria, if not even by Charles IV. himself. In

the first letter, dated Aranjuez, 21st of March, the Queen stated that her consort could not write on account of ill health, but that he was anxious to know if the Grand Duke of Berg were disposed to exert all his influence with the Emperor, in order to assure the life of the Prince of the Peace. The letter proceeded to request that the Prince should be allowed in his prison the attendance of his servants and chaplains, and that the Grand Duke would visit and console him, as they were intimate friends. As for herself and the King, she said, they aspired to nothing beyond obtaining from the Emperor a decent competence, and permission to spend their days in company with the Prince of the Peace; that they could hope for nothing from their son but misery and persecution; that the greatest falsehoods were fabricated in order to render the Prince of the Peace odious in the eyes of the Emperor, but that he ought not to suffer them to influence him. She concluded with expressing her own and the King's gratitude to the Emperor, for the troops which he had sent them, and declaring that they placed themselves entirely in his hands, being fully persuaded that so great a hero, and so generous a monarch, would not deny them the favour which they implored.

Similar ideas and sentiments were expressed in several other letters, amongst which those of the Queen of Etruria were distinguished by the vehe-

mence of her supplications, and by the tone of tender familiarity in which they were couched, as well as by the acrimony of the accusations which she made against her brother Ferdinand. Before arriving at Madrid, Murat dispatched one of his aids-de-camp to Charles IV; immediately after, he sent him a body of French troops, who attended him to the Escurial, and that being effected, he demanded and obtained possession of the person of the Prince of the Peace, who immediately proceeded to France, escorted by a battalion of Murat's army.

That General arrived in Madrid on the 23d of March, at the head of a numerous force and a brilliant staff, from the midst of which he himself shone forth, distinguished by his fine person and an array of splendour half Asiatic, half European. The French troops retired to the quarters assigned them, leaving the garrison in the hands of the Spaniards, as if he equally ruled the troops of both countries. The General-in-chief, after remaining a few hours in the palace of the Retiro, removed to Godoy's former house, which has since been the palace of the Cortes.

The French were received in Madrid with the most sincere and clamorous demonstrations of friendship and enthusiasm, not only on account of the admiration which was universally excited by their martial air, their splendid appearance, and their perfect discipline, but also, because it was ge-

nerally believed that the object of their arrival was nothing more or less than to assist the new king, and to draw closer the ties by which the two nations were connected. Thus, every body looked upon the evils which afflicted the monarchy as for ever terminated; and they spoke only of the happy and glorious epoch that awaited them, when Spain, under the auspices of Napoleon, would recover all her former wealth and preponderance.

Ferdinand made his entry on the following day in the midst of an immense multitude, enthusiastic with joy, and exulting in their affection for their new sovereign. He immediately issued several decrees, replete with benignant and patriotic views. The inhabitants of Madrid were never wearied of beholding and applauding him, and the men of probity and talent, who had been banished and persecuted in the former reign, repaired from all parts of the kingdom to the capital, to receive the reward of their constancy, and the recompense of their sufferings. One extraordinary incident, however, threw considerable gloom over these brilliant prospects. The General-in-chief of the French troops, brother-in-law of Napoleon, and the depositary of all his secrets with regard to Spain, not only did not recognize Ferdinand as King, but did not even as yet proceed to pay him a visit. In the eyes of those who were conversant with the policy and character of the Emperor, this circumstance possessed great weight, and

portended designs by no means of a satisfactory nature. Negotiations and explanations took place, which were carried on by persons in the intimate confidence of the King and Murat, with respect to such an extraordinary line of conduct. The General in the end stated, that he waited for instructions from the Emperor to proceed in a case which was unforeseen, but that he expected to receive them every hour, and with them full authority to recognize Ferdinand as king.

Full of the same hope, Ferdinand addressed a letter to the Emperor, detailing all the occurrences to which he owed his premature elevation to the throne, reiterating the desire which he felt to unite himself with a princess of his dynasty, and entreating him to perform, as soon as was consistent with his convenience, the promise which he made to Charles IV. of taking a journey to Spain. So certain was Ferdinand at that time of the approaching arrival of Napoleon, that he gave the most pressing orders for preparing magnificent apartments for him in the palace, and he directed that programmes should be made out of a succession of public fêtes, which were to be celebrated during his residence in Madrid.

But, in the mean time, Murat entered into a secret understanding with the old King and Queen, and received from them, through General Monthion, the act of abdication to which we have already alluded, together with all the data and in-

formation, which were calculated to throw doubts upon the legality of Ferdinand's elevation to the throne. The great object which he appeared to have in view, on that occasion, was to get possession of every thing which was calculated to shew, in the eyes of all Europe, that the royal family of Spain, devoured by discord, and given up to every sort of vice, was unworthy to occupy the elevated station in which it was placed. Hence it is, that all the letters and documents which came to his hands, and which were afterwards published in all the journals of Europe, are so little honourable to Charles IV, to Maria Louisa, and Ferdinand.

In order that the new King should be under no sort of apprehension, Murat continued to give him daily assurances of the approaching arrival of the Emperor; and so impressed was Ferdinand with their truth, that he dispatched three grandees of Spain to receive him at the frontiers. They also carried with them the necessary credentials, in order to make a formal demand of the hand of a princess of the imperial dynasty. Farther, the Infante Don Carlos proceeded from Madrid on the road towards France, under the confident expectation of meeting the Emperor within the Spanish territory.

All these personages arrived at the frontiers without observing or hearing of the least symptom of such an important journey. Upon this strange occurrence no explanations were given in Madrid.

Murat was the only person who could enter into them, and he did not wish to see the King, as he would be obliged to give him the title of Majesty, which, as such, belonged to him. At length General Savary appeared in Madrid, charged with a special mission to see and confer with the King upon the part of Napoleon; and having obtained an interview, he told him, that he came to congratulate him in the name of the Emperor, who would make no delay in recognizing him as King of Spain and the Indies, if his Majesty continued in the same sentiments with respect to France which had guided his august father. Ferdinand returned an answer in the most affectionate terms; and mentioned as a proof of the sentiments which he entertained, and of the conduct which he meant to pursue, the proposals which he had already made for a niece of the Emperor. To this Savary replied, that his Imperial Majesty was already near Bayonne, and that in a few days he would be in Madrid.

The astute envoy, after having flattered Ferdinand's imagination with such brilliant hopes, repeated his visit, and led him to agree in the expediency of his proceeding to meet the Emperor, who left his dominions for the first time without the character of a conqueror. He persuaded him that such a positive demonstration of attachment would be highly agreeable to

Napoleon, and that it would afford the most opportune and efficacious means of terminating the discussions relative to the royal family of Spain, in favour of a sovereign who appeared to be called by the general voice of the nation to the throne which he now occupied, and on which, without any doubt, the regulator of the destinies of Europe would confirm and defend him.

Nothing could more perfectly coincide with the interests and wishes of Ferdinand and his advisers than this proposition. Escoiquiz, San Carlos, and Infantado, told his Majesty that it was necessary not to lose a moment, and that the opportunity which offered itself was the most fortunate which could occur in the critical circumstances in which the kingdom was placed. To the great displeasure of the people of Madrid, those personages immediately made the most hurried preparations for the journey. It was generally said, and the King and his advisers believed, that his Majesty would not go beyond Burgos; and Savary himself confirmed this, by stating, in the houses where he visited and in the evening circles which he attended, that he had received letters from the Emperor, which left no doubt of his being on the road.

Ferdinand, being informed of some intrigues which were going on at his father's court, determined before setting out to remove every pretext for disputing the lawfulness of his elevation to the throne. With this view, he addressed a very

respectful letter to him, dated the 8th of April, in which he stated, that he was highly satisfied, after the interview which he had had with Savary, with the good faith which that envoy manifested, and the perfect harmony which prevailed between him (Ferdinand) and the Emperor; that it was proper that his royal father should give him a letter for the Emperor, congratulating him on his journey, and assuring him, that the son entertained the same sentiments towards him as the father. Ferdinand added, that he wished to have this letter as speedily as possible, as he was resolved to set out two days after, and had already given the necessary orders. Maria Louisa prevailed on her consort to draw up an evasive and insignificant answer to this letter, which was immediately forwarded to the Duke de Berg, with a message, requesting his advice how they should act under such circumstances. The Duke replied, that Charles IV. ought not to accede, on any account, to his son's request. Thus, the hatred which his mother always bore him was encouraged, and new hopes were entertained by her courtiers, who began to circulate a rumour that Napoleon was coming to restore Charles IV. to the throne, and to liberate Godoy from the hands of his oppressors—a rumour which was soon spread through Madrid, and tended, in a considerable degree, to augment the agitation which already prevailed in that capital.

These incidents, which were magnified in the palace, on account of the difference of opinion which prevailed amongst its inhabitants, did not fail to attract the attention of Ferdinand, and of those who advised him to undertake the journey. They seemed the more important, as every day fresh details arrived respecting the almost hostile conduct of the French troops, who occupied the Northern provinces of Spain. Ferdinand, in consequence, sent for Savary, and frankly explained to him his apprehensions, not only with respect to the Emperor's arrival, but also as to his intentions of recognizing him as King of Spain. Savary replied, that he would pledge his life for the performance of the Emperor's promises; and that if in his first interview with Ferdinand he should give him only the title of Highness, it would be merely in compliance with etiquette, but that he would not long defer saluting him with the title of Majesty.

Assurances so positive could not but remove every trace of alarm from the mind of Ferdinand. He left Madrid for Burgos, on the 10th of April, after having confided the government of his dominions to a junta of personages under the presidency of his uncle, the Infante Don Antonio. The people of Madrid witnessed the departure of the King with the silence of fear and suspicion; and although his appearance in the streets through which he passed, inspired the inhabitants with the

most rapturous enthusiasm, it was easy to perceive that the clamorous expressions of their joy were mingled with compassion for a young sovereign, who might probably be the victim of the bad faith of the most ambitious of conquerors.

Savary accompanied Ferdinand in one of the carriages of his retinue, and lost sight of him as little as possible. On arriving at Burgos, Ferdinand expressed his surprise at not meeting the Emperor there, and at not even receiving a letter from him, or some intelligence of his passing the frontiers. The officious general, boldly persevering in his former assertions, assured him that by that time the Emperor must certainly be at Vittoria, and he entreated Ferdinand to make a little farther exertion, and proceed as far as that city. To this Ferdinand agreed with reluctance, however much encouraged by the unalterable optimism of his intimate advisers. They never felt the least alarm with respect to Napoleon's intentions; on the contrary, they continually cherished the most sanguine hopes, and entertained no doubt that Ferdinand would shortly be on his return to Madrid, perfectly assured of his throne, and allied by the bonds of marriage with a dynasty, which was proceeding by degrees to embrace within its grasp all the sceptres of the Continent.

At Vittoria things began to assume a different aspect. As in that city there was still not the slightest symptom of the Emperor's journey, Fer-

dinand stopped to deliberate upon the course which it would be most expedient for him to adopt under such delicate circumstances. It was now impossible for him to advance one step farther without possessing positive information upon the real state of things, and without obtaining unequivocal explanations with respect to the obscure and contradictory incidents which had hitherto occurred. Ferdinand found no other means of escaping from such a state of uncertainty, except by entering into candid explanations with the Emperor of the French.

With this view he addressed a letter to Napoleon on the 14th of April, in which he stated, that, having been elevated to the throne by the free and spontaneous abdication of his august father, he had observed, not without great pain, that neither the Duke de Berg, nor the French ambassador, complimented him upon his accession to the crown. He could not ascribe this conduct to any other cause than a want of positive instructions, and therefore he might be allowed to say, that, from the very commencement of his reign, he had omitted no opportunity of affording to the Emperor the most sincere testimonies of his fidelity and attachment. It had been amongst the earliest objects of his care to supply the French troops with quarters and provisions, notwithstanding the extreme poverty of the treasury. In the letters which he had addressed to the Emperor, he uni-

formly expressed his anxious wish to draw closer, and to render indissoluble, the ties which subsisted between his father and his Imperial Majesty. With that object he had sent a deputation of three grandees of Spain, and subsequently his brother, the Infante Don Carlos, to the Emperor. To this statement of facts he trusted he would be permitted to add, the expression of his regret that he was up to this time without receiving any letters from his Imperial Majesty; and that this regret was the deeper, as, to the question put to him by General Savary, whether his accession to the throne would occasion any change in the relations between the two States, he had answered in the same terms which he had used in his letters. In the same spirit of confidence he had accepted the invitation given him to proceed to receive his Imperial Majesty, in order to anticipate the pleasure of personally knowing him. He concluded with earnestly entreating the Emperor to relieve him from the painful situation in which he found himself, in consequence of his Imperial Majesty's silence, and that by sending him a favourable answer he would dissipate those lively apprehensions, which a prolonged state of uncertainty would occasion to his subjects.

General Savary took charge of this letter for the Emperor, who arrived on that same day at Bayonne. He did not, however, quit Ferdinand without reiterating his usual protestations, and at

the same time he took care to leave behind him such secret orders as he judged necessary for the purpose of preventing Ferdinand from returning back, or from taking any other road than that leading to Bayonne. At the time of Savary's arrival there were in that town two individuals (Macanaz and Vallejo) who enjoyed the friendship and confidence of Ferdinand, and also of Escoiquiz. They penetrated the intentions which the Emperor and his court entertained with regard to Ferdinand, and saw the approach of the storm which threatened him on every side. They wrote to Vittoria, and desired their friends to prepare for great misfortunes, and for the total ruin of the party which they had embraced.

To these ominous forebodings, others were added, which were of great moment at such a critical period. Don Mariano Luis de Urquijo, who had been Minister of State in the time of the Prince of the Peace, and was afterwards persecuted and banished by that favourite to the Guiposcoan provinces, presented himself to the new sovereign during his short stay at Vittoria, and having perceived with pain the state of delusion in which the King and his attendants were placed with respect to the fate which awaited them, he strongly pointed out the dangerous errors under which they were labouring, in a long conference which he held for that purpose with the Duke del Infantado, Escoiquiz, and several

others of those individuals who were in the King's confidence. Urquijo, who was thoroughly versed in foreign politics, and who did not participate in the optimism so common among the leading Spaniards of that epoch, particularly called the attention of the personages already mentioned, to the manner in which the *Moniteur* reported the tumult at Aranjuez, and shewed that the language of that journal was a perfect index to the Emperor's designs. He told them that, ever since 1805, it was Napoleon's object to remove the reigning dynasty from Spain, as it was incompatible with the permanence of his own elevation. These projects, he added, explained the occupation of Spain by the French troops; and he doubted not but that even where they stood, in the city of Vittoria, the King and all his attendants were neither more nor less than prisoners, as was evident from the persons who kept guard, and from the points which were occupied by the foreigners. He then asked what was the real object of Ferdinand's journey; how was it possible that he should suffer his dignity to be impaired in so public a manner, and permit himself to be conveyed into a foreign kingdom, not only without the necessary forms of etiquette, usually practised on such occasions, but without having been yet even recognized as King of Spain?

To all this the advisers of Ferdinand replied, that they were going merely to gratify the ambi-

tion of Napoleon with some commercial and territorial concessions. If the views of the Emperor were hostile, the war would be eternal between the two nations. Spain might construct formidable fortifications in the Pyrenees, and always keep a hundred and fifty thousand men under arms.—These visionary ideas being easily dissipated by Urquijo, the Duke del Infantado, upon whom his observations appeared to make a deeper impression than upon the others, expressed in a dejected manner his surprise that a hero like Napoleon should be deemed capable of sullying his name by so perfidious a transaction. Urquijo desired him, in answer, to open the works of Plutarch, and he would see that all the heroes of Greece and Rome had acquired their fame by passing over thousands of dead bodies; that he could not forget the different crowns which Charles V. had forcibly taken away, and the violence which he practised against those monarchs who fell into his hands, which did not prevent the title of hero from being conferred upon him. The Spaniards, he added, treated in a similar manner the emperors and kings of the Indies; and what was then performed under the pretence of religion, might now be done under the pretext of policy. The history of Spain was full of examples of kings assassinated by the usurpers of their thrones; the Austrian and Bourbon dynasties owed their origin to crimes of this description. Every view which he took of ex-

isting circumstances, announced the approach of an important crisis, in which, probably, the royal family of Spain would be overwhelmed for ever.

The able statesman called the attention of those with whom he was in conference to another subject, which, at such a time, well deserved their consideration;—the abdication of Charles IV. at Aranjuez; an abdication which, he contended, ought to be looked upon as null and void, inasmuch as it was made amidst the excitation, disorder, and clamour of a popular tumult. He instanced the two abdications of Charles V. and Philip V, in which the proceedings were carried on with the greatest calmness and moderation; and he expressed his fears that Bayonne might be the scene of the complaints of the father against the son, and of the exclusion of both from the throne of their ancestors.

Nevertheless, with such solid and convincing reasons urged upon their attention, the advisers of the journey believed that they triumphantly answered them by saying, that if Napoleon perpetrated such a deed, France herself and all Europe would strongly reprobate it, and that Spain might render herself formidable to the usurper with the assistance of England.

To these objections Urquijo replied by demonstrating that Europe was poor, and without ade-

quate means for undertaking new wars, and that the different nations were separated from each other, by the isolated and ambitious views of their sovereigns. The opposition of the Continental cabinets to Napoleon had, hitherto, produced only ill-formed combinations and shameful defections, all resulting in the increased aggrandizement of the enemy. Austria was the only power which was able to resist the execution of Napoleon's views upon Spain; but Austria was nothing in comparison with Russia and all the States of Germany, which appeared to be intimately united with the French cabinet, resolved to assist it in its objects, and to follow the line which it should trace out for them. In the next place, he shewed that nothing was to be hoped for from France—a nation fond of every thing which was new and striking, and whose public spirit depended entirely on the impulse which it received from the government. It was, moreover, the interest of the French that the two crowns should belong to sovereigns of the same family, on account of the mutual advantages which such an arrangement would impart to their commerce. Many interests had already grown up, and had been consolidated in France, which were opposed to the dynasty of the Bourbons, and the existing generation would be delighted to see the fall of the Spanish branch of that house, as the chance of its being succeeded by a

part of the imperial family would thus become more and more probable.

As to the capability of Spain to support a war against France, Urquijo observed, that unhappily the Spanish nation ceased to exist from the time of Charles V, in consequence of its being without a representative body which would combine and promote the common interests. Spain might be looked upon as a Gothic edifice, composed of incoherent and heterogeneous fragments, such as the rights, privileges, laws, and legal customs of the different provinces. It was not possessed of a general public spirit. The government could not be endowed with sufficient solidity to be the centre of power, activity, and motion. The agitation and risings of the people were of brief duration. The disorders in the Peninsula produced the most fatal results upon the Spanish colonies, and the cabinet of Saint James was taking advantage of the misfortunes of Spain, to separate her from her possessions beyond sea. Urquijo concluded by proposing that he himself should be sent as an ambassador to Napoleon, in order that he might terminate, with the least possible disadvantage, a negotiation whose commencement was so erroneously conducted; and, above all things, he urged that the King should immediately effect his escape under some disguise, for which purpose he supplied all the necessary means; being persuaded that if Napoleon were informed that Ferdinand

was at liberty, he would find himself compelled to alter the plans of his policy, and to accede to some conciliatory and definitive measures.

All these efforts were useless. The courtiers who surrounded Ferdinand, closed their ears against such cautious suggestions, and only waited for Napoleon's answer to the letter of which Savary was the bearer, in order to resume their journey. Savary did not long detain them. On the 18th of October he returned; and as the letter which he delivered to Ferdinand may be ranked amongst the most important documents in modern history, it deserves to be cited at full length. It thus proceeds:—

"My Brother,

"I have received your Royal Highness's letter. In the papers which your Royal Highness has received from the King your father, you must have seen many proofs of the interest which I have always felt for you. Permit me, therefore, under the circumstances in which you are placed, to speak to you with sincerity and frankness. I entertained the hope that, upon my arrival in Madrid, I should be able to induce my illustrious friend to effect some necessary reforms in his government, and make some sacrifices to public opinion. The removal of the Prince of the Peace appeared to me to be indispensable, both to the welfare of the King, and to that of his

people. The affairs of the North retarded my journey. The occurrences at Aranjuez took place in the mean time. It is not for me to judge of those events, nor of the conduct of the Prince of the Peace; but what I do know is this, that nothing can be more dangerous to kings than to accustom the people to the shedding of blood, and to have justice administered through their hands. I pray God that your Royal Highness may not experience it in your own person. It is not for the interest of Spain to inflict injury upon a prince, who is married to a princess of the royal blood, and who has carried on the government of the kingdom for so long a time. He has now no friends; neither will your Royal Highness have them if you should happen to fall into misfortune. The people gladly avenge themselves for the homage which they pay to us. On the other hand, how is it possible to cite the Prince of the Peace before the tribunals, without calling the King and Queen before them also? Such a trial would excite discord, and inflame the passions of parties: the issue would be fatal to your crown. Your Royal Highness has no other right to that crown, than that which your mother has transmitted to you. If the trial should bring disgrace upon her, your Royal Highness destroys your only title. Attend, therefore, no longer to perfidious and imbecile advisers. Your Royal Highness has

no right to judge the Prince of the Peace; his crimes, though they may be matter of reproach to him, are lost in the rights of the throne. I have frequently evinced my wish that the Prince of the Peace should retire from public affairs. My friendship for King Charles imposed silence upon me, and made me overlook his weakness. Wretched mortals that we are!—Feebleness—error—these are our device! But things may yet be reconciled. Let the Prince of the Peace quit Spain. I offer him an asylum in my dominions. As to the abdication of Charles IV. it took place at a time when my armies covered Spain; and it would appear in the eyes of Europe and posterity, that I had sent them into the Peninsula, in order to force my friend and ally from his throne. As a neighbouring sovereign, it is my duty to enquire into the circumstances of this abdication, before I can recognize your legitimacy. I now declare to your Royal Highness, to Spain, and to the whole world, that if the abdication of Charles IV. have been spontaneous, if it have not been forced upon him by the insurrection and tumult at Aranjuez, I shall have no difficulty in acknowledging it, and in recognizing your Royal Highness as King of Spain. I am anxious to confer with your Royal Highness upon this point. The circumspection which I have used in this affair this month back, ought to be a sufficient assurance

of the support which you will receive from me, in case that, when you occupy your throne, any faction should attempt to assail it.

"When King Charles informed me of the events of the month of October, I was deeply affected; and I trust that, by the advice which I insinuated, I contributed to the fortunate issue of the affair of the Escurial. Your Royal Highness has committed several errors. Your letter to me, which I wish I could forget for ever, is sufficient to justify this assertion. When your Royal Highness shall be king, you will feel how sacred are the rights of the throne. Every step taken in concert with a foreign sovereign, by a hereditary prince, is criminal. Your Royal Highness should place no confidence in popular frenzy and commotions.

"Perhaps assassinations may be perpetrated upon some of my isolated soldiers; but the result will be the ruin of Spain. I have learned with regret, that letters from the Captain-general of Catalonia have been distributed in Madrid, in which he endeavours to inflame the minds of the inhabitants. Your Royal Highness is already in possession of my ideas; you see that I waver between different objects, which must necessarily be soon decided. Rest assured, that in every case I shall conduct myself towards your Royal Highness, as I would towards the King your father,—that I am anxious to have every thing terminated in a conciliatory manner, and to find new occasions

for evincing the affection and perfect esteem which I entertain for you. I pray God, my brother, to take you into his holy and worthy keeping.

(Signed,) "NAPOLEON.

"*Bayonne*, 16*th April*, 1808."

This letter ought to have been sufficient to undeceive Ferdinand and his advisers, and to shew them the errors into which they were rushing, if they had not been blinded by the most strange and obstinate delusions. Taking the character of Napoleon into consideration, remembering that his troops occupied a great part of Spain, and reflecting on the interest which he had in removing from the thrones of Europe every prince who bore the name of Bourbon, it was easy to see that his letter was really a hostile manifesto against Ferdinand. The doubts and vacillations which he expressed in it, were evidently the precursors of a decisive blow, which was to be struck against the reigning house, for the farther aggrandizement of a family that had already risen by such rapid strides to the possession of unbounded power. Nevertheless, Ferdinand persevered in his resolution; and far from foreseeing those melancholy proofs of his delusion, which he was destined soon to receive, he wrote to his uncle and to the Junta, informing them of the satisfaction which he de-

rived from the conduct observed towards him by the Emperor.

He also wrote to Napoleon from Vittoria, stating that he had received the letter which he had been pleased to send him through Savary, and that the confidence with which it inspired him, and the desire which he felt to convince his Imperial Majesty, that the abdication of the King his father was entirely voluntary, had determined him to proceed to Bayonne. He added that he was upon the eve of setting out, in order that he might arrive on the third day following at Marrac, where the Emperor was then residing.

The inhabitants of Vittoria looked upon the proposed journey with general dissatisfaction, and exerted every means in their power to prevent it. They even went so far as to cut the traces by which the mules were attached to Ferdinand's carriage. Several of the most respectable and influential inhabitants of the province, repeatedly tendered their services in order to effect his escape, notwithstanding the extreme vigilance of the French troops, and the suspicious movements which they had made within the preceding three days. Ferdinand addressed the people from his carriage in the square of Vittoria. He assured them that he was proceeding entirely of his own accord, to see his friend the Emperor of the French; that he had the strongest reasons for confiding in his

sincerity and protection; and that he would very shortly return through Vittoria, after bringing the affairs of his kingdom to a complete and favourable termination. He then, together with his suite, left Vittoria* by the high road to France.

He arrived on the same day at Irun, and was lodged in a mansion some distance from the town, which belonged to one of the most distinguished persons in the province. Here again the most urgent entreaties were made to him not to enter France, and plans were proposed for accomplishing his flight with perfect safety. The owner of the mansion offered to place Ferdinand, within a few hours, on board a vessel in the bay of St. Sebastian; and several individuals of the neighbourhood, who were connected with persons in Bayonne, confirmed the apprehensions so generally entertained, with additional details more or less alarming, respecting the military preparations which were observed on the frontiers and throughout all France; the evident intentions of the ministers in Paris; and the rumours to which these circumstances had given birth. They added many other particulars sufficient to justify any measures, however violent, which Ferdinand might adopt, in order to save himself from a catastrophe of which he was warned by so many and such convincing circumstances.

* 19th of April.

But Ferdinand remained obstinate to his purpose; and lest any suspicions should reach Napoleon that his intentions had varied in any degree, he wrote to him again, on the 19th, from Irun, stating that he would leave that town on the following morning at eight o'clock, for the Emperor's residence at Marrac, that he might have the satisfaction of forming a personal acquaintance with his Imperial Majesty, if he would condescend to permit him.

On the 20th, Ferdinand, attended by a suite of a few persons, entered Bayonne; and immediately after, he received a visit from Napoleon. The interview, which did not last many minutes, was occupied in a mere interchange of compliments. Not a word was spoken of political matters. When the Emperor withdrew, General Duroc came in his name to invite Ferdinand to dinner at Marrac. This banquet was remarkable only for the brevity of its duration. Ferdinand withdrew to the residence assigned him; and very shortly after, General Savary presented himself to notify to him in Napoleon's name, that the dynasty of the Bourbons no longer reigned in Spain; that it was about to be replaced by that of Napoleon; and that, in consequence, Ferdinand was to renounce, both for himself and all the princes of his family, his rights to the crown of Spain, in favour of his Imperial Majesty, according to the provisions of a treaty

which was to be subsequently made for the arrangement of the indemnities and the other conditions of this important measure.

Ferdinand stood still, incapable for some minutes of giving any answer, so great was the surprise with which his mind was overwhelmed by a communication so wholly unexpected. As soon as he recovered a little, he answered in a grave and dignified manner, that he fully perceived his situation, and the violence which was committed against him; but that, nevertheless, to whatever extent his own docility towards the Emperor might go, whatever might be his determination with regard to his personal rights, it was not in his power to dispose of those of other princes of his family, and that therefore it was impossible for him to accede to this proposition.

Napoleon, who had not as yet at his disposal all the means, which would have enabled him to strike the decisive blow, had recourse to seduction and negotiation. After making the most flattering promises to the Spaniards of distinction who were at that time in Bayonne, he directed that Champagny, his minister for foreign affairs, should enter into a conference with Don Pedro Cevallos, the Spanish minister of state, on the point in question. Not satisfied with this, he attended himself at the interview; and observing that Cevallos persevered firmly in the nega-

tive, alleging not only his attachment to the reigning dynasty as his reason, but also his love for his country, and his anxiety for her prosperity and glory, Napoleon told him, that to the latter noble sentiment he ought to sacrifice the former, which was one of mere personal affection. He added, that it was his intention to promote the welfare of Spain, by giving her institutions analogous to those of other cultivated nations, and by rooting out from her bosom the germ of those evils which preyed upon her; that every liberal and enlightened man ought to applaud this measure; and that therefore Cevallos ought to assist, with all his influence, the mild and tranquil completion of this great political change, in order that no impediment might mar those auspicious prospects, which awaited a nation so worthy of occupying an important rank in the scale of political affairs.

In the mean time, Escoiquiz, who discovered, though late, the futility of all his delusive hopes, endeavoured to repair the disasters which his obstinacy had caused, and demanded and obtained an interview with Champagny. On that occasion he sought to convince him of the stain, which the Emperor was bringing upon his glory, by dethroning a Prince who had come with such entire confidence to throw himself into his arms. He insisted that it was the interest of France that Ferdi-

nand should wear the crown of Spain; that a close alliance between the two cabinets would be the necessary result; and that a destructive blow would thus be given to the policy of England. Nor did he omit to point out the danger in which the French troops would be involved in Spain, if the nation, once irritated, as justly it might be, should rise up to avenge her sovereign, and to shake off a foreign yoke which it was attempted to impose on her by force, and in violation of all those laws that were most venerated by mankind.

As his only reply to the canon's vehement discourse, Champagny communicated to him a new proposition, which he was authorized to make on the part of his Imperial Majesty. This proposition offered, in substance, that the throne of Etruria should be given to Ferdinand, the succession being regulated according to the Salic law; that the integrity of the Spanish territory, under the dynasty of Napoleon, should be guaranteed, and that Ferdinand should be united in marriage to a princess of the imperial family. If these proposals were not accepted, Ferdinand was never after to receive any sort of indemnity for the throne of Spain, which was lost irrevocably to the Bourbons.

Escoiquiz was perfectly satisfied with the new turn which was thus given to the pending negotiations. But Ferdinand's other advisers did not ac-

cord with him in opinion; and as Champagny demanded an immediate answer, Ferdinand authorized Don Pedro Labrador to discuss this delicate point with the ministry. Labrador received, in writing, the instructions by which he was to regulate his conduct. He was desired, in the first place, to ask if the King were at liberty to return to his dominions; and if the anwser were in the negative, he was to declare every thing done at Bayonne null and void. He was authorized to say, that the King was determined not to comply with the wishes of the Emperor, and that the Spaniards could not be forced by any foreign power to recognize any other dynasty, nor be deprived of the privilege which they possessed of electing a sovereign from a new family, in case of the extinction of the reigning house. He was farther instructed to state, that the King could not accept the crown of Etruria, since it belonged of right to another person; and that if the Emperor should have recourse to violent measures, the King confided in the protection of Divine Providence.

In the mean time, Champagny presented to the Emperor a detailed report upon the affairs of Spain. He set out with asserting that, that country was threatened with frightful anarchy, in consequence of the machinations of the English government. To the Emperor, he observed, it belonged to save Spain from a long series of evils which were impending over it, by placing a prince

of his own family upon its throne. Of all the European states, none was more closely connected with France than the Peninsula. Sanguinary animosities had existed between the two nations, until Louis XIV. had united their thrones by the bonds of relationship. The French Revolution had dissolved the ties of friendship subsisting between them. After that event, the Spanish cabinet had acted with excessive perfidy, by forming secret connexions with England, notwithstanding its apparent amity with France; and the moment was now arrived for giving to the latter power, an unchangeable and secure frontier on the side of the Pyrenees. The Minister then entered into circumstantial particulars with regard to the internal condition of Spain. He took a review of all the evils by which it was afflicted; the wretched state of its marine, the disorder of its finances, and its enormous public debt; and he urged that such a complication of diseases could be subdued only by the most vigorous remedies. He reminded the Emperor, that the principal object of his solicitude was the war with Great Britain; that this power refused to agree to any pacific arrangement, and that it would continue to do so, until it should be incapacitated from pursuing the war. Spain, he observed, abounded in maritime resources, which were at that time entirely useless to France. It was necessary to re-establish them through the medium of a good government, to improve them by a

judicious organization, and to direct them against the common enemy. The two families reigning in France and Spain should be united by common interests; otherwise the house reigning in Spain would be the secret enemy of the French cabinet. If a great and decisive measure were recommended by policy, it was authorized by justice at the same time. French commerce had experienced all sorts of indignities in the Spanish custom-houses. The circumstances in which the Emperor was placed, did not permit him to abstain from taking part in the affairs of that kingdom. The King of Spain had been torn from his throne. It belonged to the Emperor to decide between the father and son. It was impossible to leave Ferdinand upon the throne of Spain, without placing him at the same time under the yoke of England. Neither could the King be restored to his throne, without hazarding the effusion of a great deal of blood. After several other observations calculated to sustain his arguments, the Minister concluded by advising the Emperor to look to the safety of his dominions, and to preserve Spain from the influence of Great Britain.

Champagny never mentioned any one of the principles set forth in this report, in his conferences with Labrador; and finding that the Spanish plenipotentiary adhered literally to his instructions, the negotiations produced no result, and were soon totally suspended.

Ferdinand's advisers saw that it was necessary to extricate themselves from this disagreeable crisis, by whatever means they could, and with the greatest possible expedition. Napoleon and his ministers, on the contrary, proceeded with meditated delay, and impeded, as much as possible, the progress of events. The expected arrival of the royal parents was the real cause of this variation in his conduct, as Napoleon stood in need of the presence of those personages, in order to carry his intentions into effect. Ferdinand had every thing to fear from their known dispositions towards him. He was, therefore, doubly anxious to free himself from his present state of uncertainty; and with this view Cevallos wrote to Champagny on the 28th of April, informing him that the King was resolved to return to Spain, in order to tranquillize the apprehensions of his subjects. He requested that the French minister would mention this to his Imperial master; adding, that the King, upon his return to his dominions, would not cease to attend to the propositions which were made to him on the points pending between him and the Emperor.

This letter was not answered. Ferdinand's ministers then saw that Napoleon had taken his determination, and that no attention was likely to be paid to those promises by which their sovereign was induced to undertake this unfortunate journey. Ferdinand's residence became thenceforth a scene

of agitation and disorder. Spaniards of respectable character, who were interested in the cause of their sovereign, and full of anxiety and zeal to extricate him triumphantly from his present situation, were continually going in and out. Some brought intelligence more or less alarming; others gave advice more or less distinguished for its prudence. Numberless spies, who were looked upon as confidential persons, and as friends to the cause of Spain, incessantly surrounded the King and his advisers. A strong guard was stationed near his habitation. The King evinced a determined and consistent character throughout these events, in which he was encouraged by the intelligence that arrived from Spain, of the general disgust and hatred beginning to appear in the nation against the French. In order to avail himself of these fortunate circumstances, he wished to send two couriers to Madrid, with despatches for the Infante Don Antonio and for the Junta; but the authorities of Bayonne prevented their departure. Cevallos demanded an explanation of this strange occurrence, and he was told that the Emperor recognized no other King of Spain than Charles IV.; that therefore Cevallos, as Ferdinand's minister, should give no more passports in his name; and that as to the letters, of which the two extraordinary couriers were the bearers, they were put into the general

post-office, and would safely arrive at their destination.

Some days were occupied in these incidents until the arrival of the royal parents at Bayonne, which took place on the 30th of April. The Prince of the Peace had arrived a few days before, escorted by French troops, and almost entirely recovered from the blows and wounds which he had received at Aranjuez. Charles IV. and Maria Louisa had written from Aranda to Napoleon, in terms of the most intimate and confiding friendship. Immediately after their arrival, they assured him personally of the feelings which they entertained towards him; and they concerted with him the line of conduct which they should observe with respect to Ferdinand. In consequence of this, Charles, in the first interview which he had with his son, commanded him, in a determined and peremptory manner, to renounce in his favour all the rights which he (Ferdinand) believed he possessed to the crown of Spain, by virtue of the proceedings of the 19th of March. Ferdinand replied in a respectful manner, that at that moment it was impossible for him to take any step; that he would consult with those persons who had given him every proof of attachment, and that he would speedily send his answer in writing.

Accordingly, on the following day, Ferdinand addressed a letter to his father; in which, after

going into several general observations in justification of his own conduct, he told him that he was willing to resign the crown in his favour upon the following conditions:—That Charles IV. should return to Madrid, whither Ferdinand would attend him with the greatest respect; that the Cortes should be convoked in Madrid, or in place of them, the tribunals and deputies of the kingdom; that Ferdinand's renunciation of the crown should be communicated officially to this assembly; that Charles IV. should not take back with him any of those persons who had merited the hatred of the nation; that in case his Majesty were unwilling to return to Spain, Ferdinand should govern the kingdom in his name; and finally, that having made the renunciation upon these conditions, Ferdinand should appear amongst the Spaniards, in order to let them see that he preferred their tranquillity and interests to the glory of ruling over them.

This letter was communicated without delay to the Emperor, together with a request on the part of Charles IV. and Maria Louisa that his Imperial Majesty would dictate the answer which was to be returned to it. Napoleon did not wait to be asked a second time. Already determined to give the last blow to the dynasty of the Bourbons in Spain, and now holding at his disposal all the elements which were necessary for this important measure, he did not deem it expedient to dissemble

his intentions any longer, or to wait one moment farther in order to carry his designs into effect. On the other hand, he was sufficiently certain that the royal parents would oppose no obstacle to the dethronement of their dynasty in Spain. Maria Louisa, he knew, had no wish to return to a country in which her favourite was the object of general hatred. Charles IV, bending beneath the weight of years, the sufferings of disease, and the troubles which his reign had brought upon him, would feel it no very painful sacrifice to abandon a crown, which had cost him so many days of bitterness. The old court, too, and those personages who had persevered in their attachment to Charles IV. and his spouse, would experience great satisfaction, in seeing a foreign prince seated on the throne, as the surest means of putting it for ever beyond the reach of Ferdinand, the object of their unrelenting hatred.

The Emperor sent to the royal parents a rough draught of an answer to the letter in question. Charles IV. had it immediately translated, and, after signing it, he sent it to his son. It was as follows:—

"My Son,

"The perfidious counsels of those men who surround you, have placed Spain in a critical situation. It cannot now be saved, except through the medium of the Emperor. Since the peace of

Basle, I felt that the first interest of my people was to live in a perfect understanding with France. In order to attain this important object, I have made every sort of sacrifice. Even when France was distracted by ephemeral governments, I imposed silence on my individual wishes, in order to attend solely to the policy which was most conducive to the welfare of my subjects. When the Emperor of the French restored order in France, all my apprehensions were dissipated, and I found new motives for remaining faithful to my system of alliance.

"When England declared war against France, I was fortunate enough to preserve a neutrality, and to maintain the blessings of peace for my subjects. England subsequently seized on four Spanish frigates, and made war against me before declaring it. It was necessary for me to repel force by force. My people experienced the misfortunes of war.

"Spain, almost surrounded by coasts, and owing a great portion of her prosperity to her possessions beyond sea, suffered more than other countries in consequence of these hostilities. The interruption of commerce, and the calamities inseparable from such a state of things, soon became apparent in my kingdom. There were vassals who committed the injustice of attributing these calamities to me and to my ministers.

"I had at least the happiness of rendering

myself secure on the side that connects Spain with the Continent, and of feeling no apprehension with respect to the integrity of my provinces; which, I alone amongst all the Kings of Europe, have preserved entire amidst the storms of these latter years. I would still have enjoyed this state of tranquillity, were it not for those counsels which have caused you to deviate from the path of rectitude. You have adopted with the utmost facility, the prejudices which your wife entertained against France, and you very soon participated in her unfounded resentment against your mother, against myself, and my ministers.

"It was my duty to assert my rights as a father and a king. I taught you to know them. Look into your papers for the conviction of your crime. But towards the close of my career, subdued by the fear of seeing my son perish on a scaffold, I yielded to your mother's tears, and pardoned you.

"In the mean time, my subjects were disturbed by the false reports which were spread amongst them by the faction at whose head you had placed yourself. From that moment I lost all my former peace of life; and to the sorrows brought upon me by my subjects, were added those which sprang from the dissensions of my own family.

"My ministers were traduced to the Emperor of the French, who, acting under the impression that Spain was about to desert her ally, and seeing the agitation prevailing generally amongst the

Spaniards, proceeded upon several pretexts to cover my states with his troops.

"So long as these troops occupied the left bank of the Ebro, and appeared destined only to maintain the communications with Portugal, I hoped to meet in the Emperor, those sentiments of friendship and esteem, which he had always manifested for me. When I learned that his troops were advancing towards the capital, I found myself compelled to assemble my army around me, in order to appear to my august ally in an attitude becoming the King of Spain. I would have removed his doubts, and have promoted my own interests. I ordered my troops to quit Portugal and Madrid, and I re-assembled them on different points of the kingdom; not for the purpose of aiding my departure from Spain, but of maintaining the dignity of the throne. My long experience taught me, on the other hand, to see, that the Emperor of the French might have views conformable with his own interests, and with the policy of his extensive Continental system, but incompatible with the interests of my family. What was then your conduct? You excited disorder in my palace; you raised my body-guards in mutiny against me; your father has been your prisoner; my Prime Minister, whom I had elevated and adopted into my family, was dragged, covered with blood, from dungeon to dungeon; you outraged my grey hairs; you

stripped them of a crown which my ancestors had covered with glory, and which I had preserved without a stain; you have sat upon my throne; you went and placed yourself in the hands of the people of Madrid, who were excited to insurrection by your partisans, and of the foreign troops, who were at that moment entering the capital.

"The conspiracy of the Escurial was consummated: the acts of my government were exposed to public contempt. An old and ailing man, I could not bear up against this new disgrace. I have had recourse to the Emperor of the French, not as a king at the head of his troops and surrounded by the splendour of a throne, but as an unfortunate and a forlorn sovereign. I have found protection and support in the midst of his forces: to him I owe my life, that of the Queen, and of my Prime Minister. I have followed your steps to Bayonne. You have confounded public affairs in such a manner, that every thing now depends upon the mediation and protection of that great prince. To have recourse to popular disturbance, to unfurl the standard of party, is to bring down ruin upon Spain, and to subject yourself, my kingdom, my people, and my family, to the most dreadful catastrophes. I have opened all my heart to the Emperor; he is informed of the outrages which I have received, and of the violence which has been done me. He has declared to me, that he will never recognize you as

king, and that the enemy of his own father cannot inspire confidence in strangers. He has also shewn me your letters, which fully prove the hatred which you entertain against France.

"In this situation, my rights are manifest, and my obligations still more so. I am bound to spare the blood of my people, and to do nothing at the close of my career, which would bring fire and destruction upon the Spains, and reduce them to the most deplorable misery. If, faithful to your duties, and to the feelings of nature, you had spurned the perfidious counsels which had been given you; if, seated constantly by my side, in order to defend me, you had waited for the ordinary course of things, which would have marked your station within a few years, I might have been able to reconcile the policy and the interests of Spain with the interests of all parties. For the last six months, indeed, circumstances have been very critical; but, however dangerous they were, in consequence of the excellent attitude of my subjects, the resources which still remained to me, and, above all, that moral strength, which would have enabled me to present myself with suitable dignity before my ally, to whom I never had given reason of complaint, I should have obtained an adjustment, which would have reconciled the interests of my subjects, as well as of my family. In wresting from me my crown, you have broken your own: you have deprived it of

every thing which is august and sacred in the eyes of men.

"Your conduct towards me, and your intercepted letters*, have placed a brazen barrier between you and the throne of Spain. It is not your own interest, nor the interest of Spain, that you should aspire to it. Take care that you do not enkindle a flame, whose only and inevitable effect would be your own total ruin and the destruction of Spain. I am king, in right of my ancestors; my abdication was the result of force and violence. I can receive nothing from you, nor shall I sanction any convention or assembly. This suggestion is an additional error on the part of those inexperienced men who surround you.

"I have reigned for the happiness of my subjects. I have no wish that they should be vexed by civil war, by commotions, by popular assemblies and revolutions. Every thing ought to be done for the people; but nothing by them. To forget this maxim is to involve yourself in the guilt of all those crimes which such negligence may produce. During the whole of my life, I have devoted myself to the welfare of my subjects; and at the age at which I am now arrived, no-

* The French police had intercepted several letters which were written by Ferdinand to his uncle Don Antonio, and in which he applied to the French the epithet "accursed."

thing shall take place, with my consent, contrary to their religion, their tranquillity, or their happiness. I have reigned for them; and their prosperity shall ever be the object of my solicitude. I shall thus forget all my misfortunes; and when no doubt remains as to the conservation of the religion of Spain, the integrity, the privileges, and the independence of my provinces, I shall go down to the grave, forgiving you for the sorrows which you have brought upon my declining years.—Given at Bayonne, at the Imperial Palace, called that of the Government, on the 2d of May, 1808.

"CHARLES."

This letter filled the friends of Ferdinand with consternation. Being informed of the real source whence it proceeded, they gave up all the hopes which they had hitherto cherished. Escoiquiz, however, wrote an answer at great length, which was signed by Ferdinand. In this document, after refuting in detail all the accusations set forth in the letter, the proposition of Ferdinand's abdication in favour of his father was renewed, as well as his offer to proceed to govern the kingdom in his name, if his Majesty did not wish to resume the reins into his own hands. The answer concluded with two rather remarkable observations, which were expressed in energetic and persuasive terms. The first related to the continuance of the royal father in his dominions;

the second, to the project, which was clearly in contemplation, of wresting the throne of Spain from the dynasty to which it belonged, in order to place upon it a prince of Napoleon's family. Ferdinand said that he would never accede to this measure, without the consent of all the persons who had any right to the crown, and without the solemn approval of the Spanish nation, assembled in the persons of its representatives.

While these transactions were going on at Bayonne, Madrid was the scene of other events not less important in their character, nor less calculated to produce formidable consequences. Since the revolution at Aranjuez, the people of the capital continued to take a very active part in public affairs. The hopes which had been inspired by the apprehension of the Prince of the Peace, by the approach of the French troops to the capital, and the elevation of Ferdinand to the throne, were succeeded by the most melancholy disappointment, occasioned by the protection which the favourite received from the French, the equivocal conduct of the latter, and, above all, by the journey to Bayonne, which produced serious and well-grounded alarm. The junta of government saw, moreover, with great indignation, that the Duke de Berg openly sought to have Charles IV. recognised again as King of Spain, and that the conduct of the French was in truth more that of an enemy than of a friend. They felt that the

first intelligence from Bayonne might give them reason to fear every thing from that ambitious man, who had so shamelessly violated the law of nations and the rules of common honesty. The junta, in consequence, determined on consulting with Ferdinand himself, upon the line of conduct which they ought to pursue in such difficult circumstances; and with this view, they sent Field-marshal Don Jose de Zayas, and Don Evaristo Perez de Castro, a diplomatic officer, to Bayonne, and commissioned them to take Ferdinand's pleasure upon three important points. They requested, in the first place, that his Majesty would authorize the junta to delegate their powers to one or more persons, selected either from their own body or from without it; secondly, that his Majesty would decide whether hostilities should, or should not, be commenced against the French; and thirdly, that his Majesty would determine on convoking the Cortes. The King sent back his answer through the medium of General Palafox, stating, that as he was deprived of his liberty, and had no means of personally exercising his authority, he authorized the junta in the most solemn manner, either acting in their corporate capacity, or having delegated their authority to one or more persons who would represent them, to remove to such place as they thought most convenient, and to administer in the King's name all the functions of the sovereignty. He desired that hostilities

should be commenced as soon as he should be removed, by order of the Emperor, into the interior of France; an event which violence alone could bring about. In case it should take place, he desired that the junta should use all the means within their reach, in order to prevent the entry of additional troops into the Peninsula. At the same time Ferdinand issued a decree, addressed to the Council of Castile, authorizing it to convene the Cortes at such place as might appear most convenient, and recommending that the Cortes, when assembled, should occupy themselves in such measures as were necessary for the defence of the kingdom; after which, they might continue to sit for the disposal of such other matters as might arise.

But all these plans came too late, and were rendered useless, as in the mean time the Duke de Berg was residing at Madrid, and appeared determined on taking into his own hands the authority which had been exercised by the junta. On the 1st of May, the Duke wrote to the Infante Don Antonio, desiring him to make the necessary arrangements for enabling the Infante Don Francisco, and the Queen of Etruria, to set out the following day upon their journey to Bayonne, whither they were summoned by the Emperor. At the same time, the French troops made some movements which indicated a determination to support, by force of arms, a measure that was painful in the

extreme to the popular feeling in Madrid. The inhabitants assembled the following day, in great numbers, in the square of the palace, in order to see those personages take their departure. The Queen of Etruria entered her carriage, and passed through the immense multitude which was assembled, without meeting any obstacle. But on the approach of the Infante Don Francisco's carriage, the people could no longer restrain themselves, and they began to give unequivocal symptoms of their exasperation. A few daring men advanced to the carriage, and cut the traces of the horses. The French troops who formed the escort fired on the people. Immediately there was a general rising in all parts of Madrid; some Frenchmen were assassinated; several Spaniards were massacred in the streets, and a still greater number in the Prado, whither the French indiscriminately drove all they met, and inhumanly fired upon them. These events, which were the precursors of a system of violence and of despotism, diffused in an instant throughout all Spain horror against the French, and a determination to wage against them a war of blood and extermination. The Duke of Berg issued a decree, proclaiming himself president of the junta, by virtue of the authority of Charles IV, the only legitimate King of Spain. This decree was obeyed by the councils and other authorities of the capital.

The irritation of men's minds was deep and

general in Madrid, sometimes swelling into open murmurs, at other times silenced by the terror arising from the presence of a foreign and a formidable army, ever ready to execute with violence the orders of its commander. Many persons emigrated to the provinces, whither they carried with them the spirit of vengeance and the fire of patriotism. The clergy, who foresaw their own destruction, if the French should ever govern Spain, joined their cause to that of the nation's pride and interest. The army, although dispersed, put itself in motion; the youth of the country was inflamed; the relaxation of authority, in consequence of the shock which its principal depositaries had received, gave new force to the passions, and taught the people to know their own strength and importance. Every thing indicated the approach of one of those great crises which regenerate or overwhelm kingdoms—which raise them to the pinnacle of independence and glory, or bury them in the abyss of slavery and shame.

Napoleon, without foreseeing the energy which was acquired by so many elements of resistance, conceived that he might experience some opposition; and in order to subdue it, by connecting the interests of his dynasty with those of a great part of the nation in which he wished to establish his throne, he resolved to put an end to the state of uncertainty which prevailed, and to clothe with the forms of public law, the most violent and the

most iniquitous of usurpations. With this view a convention was concluded at Bayonne, on the 5th of May, between Napoleon, represented by General Duroc, on one part, and Charles IV, represented by the Prince of the Peace, on the other. By this treaty Charles IV. ceded to the Emperor, all the rights which he possessed to the throne of Spain and the Indies, upon the condition, that the integrity of the kingdom should be preserved, and that the Catholic religion should be continued as the dominant faith of Spain. All proceedings taken against certain Spaniards, since the revolution of Aranjuez, were annulled; an asylum was to be given to Charles, to his consort, his family, the Prince of the Peace, and the other persons who were in his suite. Charles was to have possession of the palace of Compiegne during his life, together with an annuity of thirty millions of reals charged upon the civil list. In case the Queen should survive him, she was to enjoy a yearly income of two millions of reals, during her widowhood. The sum of four hundred thousand francs a-year was to be settled on the Infantes, and the castle of Chambord was to be ceded in favour of Charles.

The articles of this treaty were all proposed by Napoleon, and accepted by Charles IV, Maria Louisa, Godoy, and the other persons of the Court, without repugnance, without discussion, or the least addition or alteration in any of the clauses. But while the document was going through the neces-

sary formalities, intelligence arrived at Bayonne of the occurrences which took place at Madrid on the 2d of May. It is impossible to describe the impression which it made upon the different personages who were assembled there, and upon the various political parties to which the progress of events hitherto had given birth. The Emperor saw his troops menaced, his prestige destroyed, and doubts thrown upon the issue of an enterprise which had now become the principal basis of his policy. Charles and his Court saw the immense party which Ferdinand had gained. Acquainted from experience with the Spanish character, its tenacity, and its abhorrence of a foreign yoke, and knowing the resources upon which the nation could count, they apprehended a sanguinary and an interminable war. Ferdinand and his friends discovered, too late, the enormous error which they had committed, and the advantages which they might have derived from a nation which had already shaken off its stupor, and appeared disposed to recover its ancient energy.

Napoleon paid a visit to Charles, informed him of the intelligence which had arrived, and urged the immediate and final termination of the pending negotiations, in order that his brother might proceed without delay to seat himself on the throne of Spain, and dissipate for ever the hopes of those who had taken up arms in favour of Ferdinand. Charles desired his son to be summoned imme-

diately before him, and, in the presence of the Emperor and the Queen, he reproached him in the bitterest terms with the disasters which his precipitate conduct had produced; he told him that he alone was responsible for all the blood which had been shed, and which might hereafter flow, in such an unequal contest; and he concluded with commanding him, in an imperious manner, to place in his hands forthwith the pure and simple abdication of the crown, under the penalty of being treated as a conspirator in case of his refusal.

Ferdinand, confused and agitated, uttered some insignificant phrases in reply, and withdrew to his residence. He immediately after wrote to the Emperor, and transmitted to him a copy of the letter which he proposed to send on the following day to his father, declaring his abdication of the crown. He also entreated his Imperial Majesty to take him, and his brother Don Carlos, under his protection, and to ensure their personal safety, as well as the preservation of their properties, to those individuals who had followed him. The letter of abdication contained only a few lines, renouncing the crown in favour of his father, in order to give him a new proof of his affection, obedience, and submission, and recommending to his indulgence the persons who had served him (Ferdinand) since the 19th of March. Ferdinand transmitted a copy of this document to his uncle, the Infante Don Antonio, supposing him to be yet president of the junta

of government in Madrid, revoking the powers which he had conferred upon him, previous to his departure from the capital, charging him to obey the orders of his father, and recommending the nation to submit to the latter, and to the Emperor Napoleon, through whose power and friendship the independence of Spain, and the integrity of her territory, could alone be preserved. He concluded with warning the nation not to fall into the snares of "our eternal enemies," (the English,) to avoid the shedding of blood, and to guard herself from those misfortunes which existing circumstances would bring upon her, if she did not cease to be misguided by the spirit of discord and disorder.

After these transactions, Charles issued a proclamation, dated Bayonne, 8th of May, addressed to the Spanish nation, in which he stated, that in the extraordinary circumstances in which he was placed, he wished to give a new proof of his attachment to his beloved subjects, by yielding all his rights over the dominions of Spain to his august friend and ally, the Emperor of the French, and recommending to them to unite themselves closely with the latter, and, above all things, to avoid tumults and rebellion. The old monarch had nearly lost all his strength when he signed this document: the extraordinary events of the preceding months had made a fatal impression on his health. His person betrayed unequivocal symptoms of the depression and grief which af-

flicted his mind. Maria Louisa, on the contrary, seemed to have grown young again. She was continually surrounded by her courtiers, and dressed in the highest style of elegance; and she bestowed every possible mark of attention and regard upon the Prince of the Peace, as if she were anxious to recompense him for the disasters which he encountered at Aranjuez, and for the odium in which he was held by the whole nation.

A few days after, the Emperor concluded a treaty with Ferdinand, which was signed by General Duroc in the name of the former, and by the Canon Escoiquiz on behalf of the latter. By the articles of this treaty, it was provided, that his Royal Highness the Prince of Asturias should abide by the cession which King Charles had made of his rights to the throne of the Spains and the Indies, in favour of his Majesty the Emperor; and that he should renounce the rights which he had, as Prince of Asturias, to the said crowns. The Emperor conceded to Ferdinand the title of Royal Highness, together with the titles and prerogatives usually enjoyed by princes of his rank; and to his descendants, the title of Prince and of Serene Highness. The Emperor ceded and granted, in full right of property, to the Prince of Asturias and his descendants, the palaces, parks, and estates of Navarre, and the adjoining forests, to pass, on failure of issue, to the branches of the Infantes Don Carlos, Don Francisco, and Don Anto-

nio successively. He also granted to him four hundred thousand francs a-year, in the same terms as the property just mentioned, together with an annuity of six hundred thousand francs, which, however, was to last only during his life. The remaining articles were taken up with stipulations concerning the rank, honours, and property which the three Infantes were to enjoy, and with other subordinate arrangements similar to those already mentioned.

Ferdinand, and his brother Don Carlos, who did not separate from him since they had met in Bayonne, together with his uncle Don Antonio, who had just arrived from Madrid, kept closely united, and obtained a promise from Napoleon that they should never be divided. These personages were so firmly convinced of the impossibility of returning to Spain, and of the want of a vigorous and an enlightened government in that country, that they resigned themselves to their fate with surprising facility and promptitude. All their conversations, as well amongst themselves, as with their attendants and the several distinguished Spaniards who were at that time at Bayonne, indicated the most perfect good faith, a sincere admiration for the Emperor of the French, and a blind confidence in his protection and assurances. They evinced altogether a certain repose and firmness of mind, which, perhaps, in other men would have been attributed to the sublime strength of reason and philosophy.

On the part of Ferdinand, these dispositions were proved by positive and notorious facts. In order to avoid the consequences of the secret orders which he had sent to the junta, and which were of a hostile character, and quite opposed to the documents which he had recently signed, he despatched, also secretly, Perez de Castro, for the purpose of revoking those orders; and he advised the junta, and all Spaniards, to submit to the new order of things which was prepared for them, renouncing for ever all resistance as useless, and as calculated only to produce disastrous results. He also sent the Marquis de Lazan to Aragon, in order to see his brother Don Jose Palafox, and direct him to break off the operations which he had commenced, with the view of exciting that province against the French. These two commissions produced very different effects. The junta presided over by the Duke de Berg, yielded to circumstances, and became the docile instrument of the Emperor's political views. But Palafox abandoned not his noble design. The impulse which he gave to the Aragonese, proved itself subsequently in the heroic defence of Saragossa, which history has placed on a level with the most famous military deeds of ancient or of modern ages.

On the 11th of May, Ferdinand and the two Infantes, attended by a reduced suite rather of intimate friends than of courtiers, set out for Valençay, the magnificent country-seat of Prince Talley-

rand, who solicited the honour of having that mansion fixed upon as the prison of such illustrious personages. The following day they stopped at Bordeaux, and the Princes profited of this delay, in order to take a new step in favour of the tranquillity of Spain.

With this view they issued a proclamation, in which they stated, that penetrated with gratitude for the fidelity and attachment which they had experienced from the people of Spain, they saw them with the deepest grief, ready to be plunged into confusion, and thretened with the greatest calamities. Knowing that these evils would arise from the state of ignorance in which the people were placed, as to the motives of that line of conduct which their Royal and Serene Highnesses had hitherto observed, and as to the plans which were already traced out for the happiness of Spain, they felt it a duty to offer them such salutary advice, as would remove every obstacle which might prevent those plans from being carried into execution. Their Royal and Serene Highnesses had found themselves in a situation to choose, amidst several measures, that which might be productive of the least evil—namely, the journey to Bayonne. Ferdinand, after his arrival in that city, had been informed that his father had protested against the abdication of Aranjuez. His filial respect had induced him to surrender the throne again to his father, who placed it at the disposal of the Emperor

of the French, in order that his Imperial Majesty, looking to the welfare of the nation, might nominate a person to occupy it. In this state of things, their Royal and Serene Highnesses considered that any attempt made by the people of Spain, in favour of their Royal and Serene Highnesses' rights, would be not only useless, but injurious, leading to the effusion of blood, and to the certain loss of several provinces of the Peninsula, and of the whole of those beyond sea. The most effectual mode of avoiding these evils was, that their Royal and Serene Highnesses should agree to that cession of his rights to the throne, which was made by Charles IV, since in this case the Emperor of the French would be bound to maintain the absolute independence and integrity of the Spanish monarchy and its colonies. He would also be bound to maintain the unity of the catholic religion, the property, laws, and customs of the people. Their Royal and Serene Highnesses sacrificed their private and personal interests to the general weal, by consenting in the most unreserved manner to the aforesaid cession. They absolved the Spaniards from all obligations contracted towards their Highnesses, and exhorted them to look only to the general interests of the country, to remain tranquil, and to wait for the consummation of their welfare from the wisdom and power of the Emperor Napoleon. In conclusion, they said that the Spaniards would afford to the Prince and

the Infantes the best proof of their fidelity by yielding obedience to these arrangements, as their Highnesses had given the most signal testimony of their paternal affection, by sacrificing their personal rights and interests to the happiness of the country.

Ferdinand and his suite arrived at Valençay on the 18th of May. The Prince of Benevento and his lady received them on their alighting, and introduced them into their residence, which was now converted into a sort of fortification, supplied with a numerous garrison, and commanded by a military chief. The Princes saw, soon after their arrival, that the treaty celebrated at Bayonne would not be very scrupulously observed; that the mansion in which they were now established, would be their constant abode; and that there they would be looked upon as no more than private individuals, who never, in any case, could take the least share in public affairs. In consequence of this persuasion, the Princes adopted a plan of life corresponding with their inclinations and habits. The duties of religion occupied a great part of the morning; books, excursions, converse with some of the inhabitants of the department, the theatre and other amusements, filled up the remainder of the day.

Ferdinand, immediately after his arrival, informed Napoleon of this event in a most respectful letter. A few days after he again wrote to him,

congratulating him, in his own name, as well as in that of his brother and uncle, upon the installation of King Joseph on the throne of the Spains. It was impossible, he said, to see at the head of that nation, a monarch who, by reason of his virtues, was so capable of assuring its perfect felicity. Ferdinand added, that he was desirous of being honoured with the friendship of that prince; and he entreated that his Imperial Majesty would communicate to him this letter, after having read it. Ferdinand's attendants wrote on the same day to King Joseph, telling him that the public voice had informed them of his elevation to the throne of Spain; that, wishing to submit to the laws of their country, and considering it a sacred duty to conform to the system adopted by the nation, they hastened to present to his Majesty the homage of their loyalty and respect; offering to serve him with the same zeal, with which they had served the preceding government. They prayed that he would permit them to reside with the Princes, in whose service they had been hitherto employed, without losing for that reason their character of faithful vassals of his Catholic Majesty, ready to obey all his commands, and rejoiced to see that the Spanish nation was about to become happy, for ever, under a monarch at once so just, so humane, and so great in every respect. They concluded with offering up to God their most fervent prayers that he would realize these hopes,

and preserve his Majesty's life through many happy years.

Napoleon replied to Ferdinand, and entered into some details upon his situation in an economical point of view. Ferdinand was extremely flattered by this correspondence. He lost no opportunity of continuing it, and he never spared the expression of his admiration, enthusiasm, and esteem. On the 26th of July 1808, he requested permission from the Emperor to go to meet him on his return from Italy to Paris, in order that he might have the satisfaction of personally renewing his homage. On the 6th of August he congratulated him in the most respectful terms on the victories with which Providence had just crowned his arms; and on the 25th of September, after thanking the Emperor like an affectionate son for the favours with which he had distinguished him, he assured him that his conduct would never belie his sentiments, or swerve from that implicit obedience which he owed to his Majesty's wishes and commands.

And, in fact, his conduct was such as appeared to be perfectly in unison with this language of resignation and attachment. Far from evincing the least symptom of vexation, for the loss of a throne like that of Spain; far from entertaining the most distant hope of ever enjoying it once more, every part of his actions shewed a complete separation from it, an edifying submission to the

decrees of Providence, a magnanimous determination to sacrifice his personal interests to what he deemed the felicity and glory of the nation. The mild and philosophical disposition of his mind had a remarkable influence upon all its operations. Never were his days more serene, never was he more exempt from passion and trouble. His mind, free from all sorrow for the past, and all fear for the future, gave itself up to the exercise of acts of beneficence. The poor of the department were sure of finding at Valençay an alleviation of their sufferings. The following anecdote proves that Ferdinand had acquired a certain elevation of mind, by no means common with those who have experienced such bitter misfortunes, and such a sudden change of position.

Upon passing through Vittoria, Ferdinand received into an inferior rank of his service a person named Amezaga, whom Escoiquiz had recommended as his relative, though in a remote degree. While the Court remained at Bayonne, Amezaga sold himself entirely to the French police, and immediately after the arrival of the princes at Valençay, he was appointed by the French government intendant of the household. In this office, Amezaga conducted himself more as Ferdinand's jailer and tyrant than as his servant. He prescribed to him, in the most imperious manner, the plan of life which he was to follow, the places to which he was to drive in his excursions, and the

amusements with which he was to divert his mind. He even descended to the most minute and insignificant details. So much rigour, added to the rude and disrespectful manner in which it was put into execution, exasperated the illustrious captive, and obliged him to make a severe complaint to Napoleon of such harsh treatment. Napoleon was justly angry, and he immediately deprived Amezaga of his office, and sent him to reside in another department. Ferdinand, however, knowing that Amezaga had little means of subsistence, did not allow him to go away without presenting him with a sum sufficient to enable him to found a lucrative establishment.

Notwithstanding all we have said of Ferdinand's harmless occupations, and his political nullity, while he stayed at Valençay, Napoleon did not for that reason grow careless with regard to him, nor was his police unwatchful. A woman who preserved some remains of beauty, and who, having been raised to a considerable rank from the lowest class of society, had only acquired in her new situation a talent for intrigue, undertook to inspire Ferdinand with those passions which were natural to his age, and the gratification of which usually leads inexperienced persons into habits of unbounded confidence. Ferdinand resisted her seductions with nobleness and dignity. The Duke of San Carlos fell into the snares prepared for his master, and yielded to the cunning courtezan's in-

sinuations. But the disclosures which he made, although sincere, were so insignificant, that they served only to confirm, in the Emperor's mind, the idea which he had long before conceived of Ferdinand's character.

The importance, however, which was attached to this prince's name, in the struggle already commenced in the Peninsula, was one of the moving principles of that memorable crisis. While the Spaniards were fighting for the rescue of their legitimate sovereign forcibly deprived of his rights, and removed from his territory by means of the most subtle treachery, the policy of England enumerated, amongst the causes which obliged her to make war against France, the outrage which was committed against the royal dignity, and the violence done to the security of thrones in general, in the person of Ferdinand. This name had already become the war shout of the two nations, and the English cabinet was fully convinced of the immense weight that would be acquired by those rights which the Spaniards were vindicating, if it could succeed in restoring Ferdinand to the bosom of his country. If Ferdinand were rescued from the power of Napoleon, and placed in a situation where he could express his genuine sentiments, he could not have done less than expose to all Europe, the violence that had been committed against him, by protesting against it, and holding up Napoleon as a daring usurper, in whose eyes nothing was respectable or

sacred, when he was determined on accomplishing the objects of his inordinate ambition. By these means it would have been possible to exasperate and alarm the sovereigns of the Continent, to rouse them from their state of passive obedience, and to give a death-blow to the continental power of France. The enterprize was one of the greatest difficulty; but a person was found who undertook to carry it into execution. This person was the Baron de Kolli, an Irishman by birth, accustomed to the discharge of secret and dangerous commissions, and eminently dextrous in those stratagems which are requisite upon such occasions. Patronised and recommended by the Duke of Kent, the Baron explained his ideas to the English ministers, and obtained their complete approbation. His precautions appeared so secure, his calculations so infallible, that the ministers gave him all the means and assistance which he demanded—a large sum of money, diamonds and bills of exchange. An English squadron was placed at his disposal on the coasts of France, in order to convey Ferdinand away, and he obtained the title of English ambassador to that Prince. His credentials consisted of an original letter, written in Latin by Charles IV. to George III, dated the 9th of September, 1802, giving him an account of the marriage of his son, Ferdinand, with the Infanta Maria Antonia of Austria; a copy of the credentials, in Latin, of Sir Henry Wellesley, as English ambassador to the

government of Ferdinand VII, and a letter of George III. to the latter, in which he assured him of his sentiments of friendship and alliance, described the assistance which England had afforded to Spain, in the contest which she was sustaining, and requested Ferdinand to consider of the most prudent and efficacious means of restoring himself to his people.

The Baron deceived the vigilance of the French police until his arrival in Paris; but in that capital he was soon discovered and arrested. The police took possession of all his papers and effects, and after shutting him up in the castle of Vincennes, (where he remained until the approach of the allied troops) they endeavoured to make use of the materials which such an important discovery had placed in their hands.

With this view a fictitious Baron de Kolli presented himself at Valençay, and attempted to prevail on Ferdinand to fly from the castle, and to place himself on board some English vessels which were waiting for him. Ferdinand, far from consenting to the proposition, rejected it with horror from the moment it came to his knowledge, and he immediately wrote to the military governor of Valençay, informing him of the occurrence. The governor proceeded immediately to see the Prince, and found him strangely disturbed and agitated. "The English," said he, "have done a great deal of evil to the Spanish nation. They make use of

my name in order to cause blood to be shed. The English ministry, deceived by the false idea that I am here against my will, and under restraint, has proposed to me means of escaping. They have sent a person to me, who, under the pretence of selling objects of art, meant to deliver me a message from his Majesty the King of England." The false emissary, who did not make much haste in getting away after the discovery of his plan, was apprehended, sent to Paris, and immediately afterwards set at liberty. Ferdinand took advantage of this conjuncture in order to write again to the Emperor, entreating that he would adopt him as his son, give him as a consort a Princess of his dynasty, and confer upon his brother Charles the command of one of his armies in the North. It need scarcely be added that these requests were unattended to, and that they served only as an object of laughter at the court of the Tuileries.

After this event, the name of Ferdinand has no place in history, until that epoch when fortune began to forsake that warrior who had been so long her favourite, and to elevate and aggrandize those whom he had cast down and subdued.

Napoleon's misfortunes began through Spain. The prodigies of valour which his numerous and well-disciplined armies had performed in the Peninsula, were not sufficient to conquer a nation full of enthusiasm and patriotism, defended by the heroical constancy of its inhabitants, and assisted by

a nation as powerful as it was enlightened, and not less interested in saving Spain from the yoke which oppressed the Continent, than in humbling the pride, and diminishing the strength of that man who had already enslaved the most valuable and important part of the Continent. The French gained battles in Spain, they subdued fortified places, they reduced provinces, but they fell in partial encounters; they could not count on the fidelity of the conquered country, and they had to contend, besides, against those sanguinary hostilities which could proceed only from irreconcileable hatred founded on the justest motives. In the mean time, the season arrived for grand and decisive operations. The first of them, and that which was the most prolific of useful results, was the battle of Arapiles, gained by the Spaniards and English against Marshal Marmont. In consequence of it, the French, with King Joseph at their head, found it necessary to evacuate the capital of Spain, and retire to Valencia, where they were shortly after joined by Marshal Soult, together with all the troops which occupied the southern provinces. Joseph returned to Madrid in October 1812, and from thence he proceeded to Salamanca with a numerous army. Lord Wellington retired to Portugal, where he maintained himself until the disasters of the Russian campaign compelled Napoleon to make a considerable diminution in the number of troops which he had in Spain. On this

occasion fifteen thousand of the imperial guard left Spain, and these were followed by fifty thousand troops of the line, amongst whom were eight thousand cavalry, and a vast quantity of military stores. King Joseph and the Marshals received orders to maintain themselves on the defensive, until they saw the results of the military events in the North.

All these circumstances inflamed the valour and the hopes of the Spaniards, and afforded to their allies an opportunity of consummating the work which they had begun. On the 21st of June, 1813, was fought the famous battle of Vittoria, in which the French army was entirely routed, and its retreat out of Spain rendered absolutely necessary. This triumph completely awakened the patriotism and enthusiasm of the North, against the man who had so frequently subdued it. He having rejected the propositions which were made to him after the Congress of Prague, and which were in fact incompatible not only with the views of his ambition, but with the fundamental principles of his policy, Austria took part in the war, and allied herself with Russia and Prussia. This campaign, the issue of which was very much influenced by the defections of Bavaria, Wurtemberg, Westphalia and Saxony, put an end to Napoleon's continental power, and compelled him to change his system, and to sacrifice to the preservation of his empire those vast plans, in the execution of which

he had hitherto laboured with so much success. In such circumstances he was bound to begin with Spain, whose rights he had so grossly outraged, and against which he had carried on so unjust a war. Accordingly on the 12th of November, 1813, he wrote to Ferdinand, informing him that he was desirous to terminate at once the *affairs* of Spain. England, he said, was fomenting anarchy and jacobinism in that nation: she proposed to annihilate the monarchy, and to destroy the nobility, in order to found a republic. He (Napoleon) was anxious to take away every pretext for English influence, and to re-establish those ties of friendship and good neighbourhood, which had so long existed between the two nations. With this view he sent Count de Laforest to Ferdinand, under a feigned name, and he requested him to give credit to every thing which that person would say to him.

The Count presented himself to Ferdinand, who had already begun to entertain hopes in consequence of late political events. The propositions of the diplomatist were evaded by that prince and his advisers; and his answer to Napoleon was in substance, that he could do nothing without the consent of the Spanish nation, and the Regency which governed it; that his Imperial Majesty might treat with that body, or that the Regency might send deputies to inform him (Ferdinand) of

the situation of affairs in Spain, and assist him to find out the means of assuring its happiness.

However, in the course of farther explanations, matters were brought to a close, and a treaty was concluded on the 11th of December at Valençay, between Count de Laforest, in behalf of the Emperor, and the Duke of San Carlos, on behalf of Ferdinand; the principal articles of which were in substance as follows:—Peace and friendship were to subsist for the future between the two sovereigns; the Emperor of the French recognized Ferdinand and his successors as Kings of Spain and the Indies; he also recognized the integrity of the Spanish territory; the provinces and fortified places in the actual possession of the French, were to be delivered up in the state in which they were, to the governors and Spanish troops designated by the King. King Ferdinand stipulated on his part to maintain the territory of the Spains, the islands, fortified places and garrisons adjacent, and particularly Mahon and Ceuta, and to cause the English troops to evacuate the provinces, fortified places, and territory which they now occupied. A particular convention was to be entered into by a French commissioner on one side, and a Spanish commissioner on the other, for the simultaneous evacuation of the French and English troops. The two sovereigns bound themselves to maintain and preserve the independence

of their maritime rights, in the same manner and in the same terms as had been stipulated in the treaty of Utrecht, and as the two nations had preserved and maintained them up to the year 1792. All Spaniards who had adhered to King Joseph, and who had served him in civil, political and military offices, were to preserve their honours, rights, and prerogatives; all property of which they might have been deprived, was to be restored to them, and a term of ten years was to be allowed to those who wished to live out of Spain, in order to sell their possessions. All the moveable and immoveable effects in Spain, belonging to French or Italians, were to be restored to them in the same state in which they existed before the war. All Spanish property sequestrated in France and Italy, was likewise to be restored, and commissioners were to be named by the respective nations, to resolve and settle all the difficulties which the execution of these measures might present. The prisoners on each side were to be sent home. The garrison of Pampeluna, and the prisoners of Cadiz, Corunna, the Mediterranean Isles, and those of every other depôt which might have been delivered to the English, were also to be given up. King Ferdinand bound himself to pay to Charles IV. and the Queen his consort, the annual sum of thirty millions of reals, and in case of the death of Charles, to pay to the Queen, during her widowhood, an annuity of two millions of francs. A

treaty of commerce was to be formed between the two nations, and in the mean time their commercial relations were to remain on the same footing upon which they stood before the war of 1792. The concluding article stated that the ratifications of this treaty were to be exchanged in Paris, within the term of one month, or sooner, if possible.

Ferdinand asked permission to write to the Regency which governed Spain in his name, and which had been appointed by the ordinary Cortes in virtue of an authority given to them for that purpose, by the political constitution which ruled the nation since the 19th of March, 1812. To this request Napoleon consented; and Ferdinand on the 18th of December, 1813, addressed a letter to that supreme body, informing it, that Divine Providence had granted to him health and strength, and the consolation of never having been separated for a moment from his brother and his uncle, the Infantes Don Carlos and Don Antonio; that he had experienced the most generous hospitality at the castle of Valençay; that his residence there had been as agreeable as it was possible, and that he had employed his time in the most advantageous manner for his new situation; that the only intelligence which he had received of his beloved Spain was through the French gazettes; that through this medium he was enabled to form some idea of the sacrifices which the nation had made for him, of the magnanimous and inflexible

constancy of his faithful subjects, of the persevering assistance of England, the admirable conduct of the commander-in-chief, Lord Wellington, and the various other Spanish and allied officers who had distinguished themselves. The English ministry, he added, in their communications of the 23d of April of the preceding year, had authentically declared that England was disposed to listen to propositions for peace; that, nevertheless, the evils of Spain still continued; that the Emperor of the French had just made, through his ambassador, the Count de Laforest, propositions for peace, founded upon his (Ferdinand's) re-establishment on the throne, and upon the integrity and independence of his dominions, without any clause which would not be compatible with the honour, the glory, and interest of the Spanish nation: that he (Ferdinand) being convinced that Spain after a long series of victories, could never obtain a more advantageous peace, had authorized the Duke of San Carlos to treat with the French ambassador upon this important point; that the treaty being happily concluded, he had appointed the same Duke to carry it to the Regency, in order that that body should ratify it in the usual manner, and send it back without loss of time, clothed with the necessary forms: that it was the greatest satisfaction to his Majesty to stop the effusion of human blood, and to put an end to so many evils; and, finally, that his Majesty most anxiously look-

ed forward to the happy moment, when he would see himself in the midst of a nation which had just given to the whole world an example of the purest loyalty, and of the most noble and generous character.

The Cortes and the Regency could not approve of the treaty of Valençay, without infringing a law which was promulgated in the isle of Leon, on the 1st of January, 1811, arising out of the circumstances in which the nation was then placed, and founded moreover upon the most solid principles of public right, and the most indispensable conditions of the independence and security of nations. In this law, after referring to the decree of the 24th of September, 1810, in which all the renunciations made at Bayonne were declared null, the Cortes proclaimed that they would recognize no act, treaty, convention nor agreement of any sort, consented to, or authorized by, the King, during his restraint and captivity, whether in an enemy's country, or in the territory of Spain; and they ordained that every thing done in contravention of this measure, should be considered as an act of hostility against the country, and that the culprit be delivered up to all the severity of the laws; they feeling assured that the generous nation which they represented, would not lay down its arms, nor listen to any proposition, until after the retirement of the French troops from Spain and Portugal, as the

Cortes and the whole nation had resolved not to quit the field, until they had secured the religion of their ancestors, the liberty of their dear and beloved Sovereign, and the absolute independence of the realm.

The Regency transmitted a copy of this document to Ferdinand, together with the treaty of Valençay unratified, and a letter as energetic as it was respectful, in which they congratulated his Majesty on his good health, and his happiness in not having been separated from his beloved uncle and brother; returned him thanks in the name of the nation for the sentiments of attachment and gratitude which his letter breathed; and justified themselves for not having been able to ratify the treaty, as it was not possible for them to contravene the ordinances of the supreme legislative power of the Spains. The letter concluded with assuring his Majesty, that although the Regency, the Cortes, and the nation, ardently wished to see his Majesty restored to the bosom of his subjects, they wished to owe this happy event to the valour and the patriotism of his troops, and not to a diplomatic treaty, proposed by the greatest enemy of his Majesty and the nation—a treaty, moreover, the conditions of which could not be admitted in the circumstances in which the Peninsula was placed.

This answer of the Regency was dated the 8th of January, 1814; but a few days before that, Na-

poleon, desirous of accelerating the arrangement of the affairs of Spain, and of withdrawing from it at once all his troops, directed the Count de Laforest to deliver to Ferdinand a diplomatic note relative to a suspension of hostilities, and the execution of the treaty. Ferdinand sent this document to the Regency through General Palafox, with a letter, in which he expressed, in the strongest terms, his wish that the Regency would comply with the propositions it contained, as well as with the secret instructions which the General took with him. These were in substance, that the necessary orders should be given immediately for a general suspension of hostilities; that a commissioner should be appointed for the execution of the treaty, as far as related to the surrender of the fortified places in the occupation of the French; and finally, that the transmission of the prisoners should be effected without delay.

The Regency answered, through its president, the Cardinal de Bourbon, congratulating the King most fervently upon the events which announced his near return to his country, and giving his Majesty the greatest praise for the conduct which he had observed in such a delicate and important crisis. With respect to the object of General Palafox's mission, the Regency referred to the answer which it had already given through the Duke of San Carlos; adding, that it had appointed, in his Majesty's name, an ambassador extraordinary,

with full powers to assist at the Congress, which the belligerent powers were about to hold, for the purpose of giving peace to Europe; that at this Congress a treaty of general peace would be concluded, which would be ratified, not by the Regency, but by his Majesty himself, in his royal palace of Madrid, or wherever he would find himself absolutely free to resume his seat on that brilliant throne which the heroism of the Spaniards had preserved for him.

The circumstances in which the nation was situated at this time, and the connexion which they have with the life of Ferdinand, render it necessary for us to quit the principal personage of these Memoirs for a few moments, in order to glance at those great political events which had taken place in his name or for his cause, and had entirely changed the aspect and the destinies of the Spanish people.

The Extraordinary Cortes, upon whom devolved the sovereign power after the extinction of the Central Junta, had promulgated a Constitution, the popular principles of which, joined to the habit of living without a king, a court, or any of those external circumstances which attend such sources of power, speedily diffused amongst those men who were engaged in political affairs, an attachment to free institutions, and an apprehension that the restoration of the King might put a fatal termination to them, and re-establish the ancient abuses of

unlimited authority. The representatives of the nation, and the depositaries of the executive power, by proceeding according to the new political pact, had redeemed Spain from the misfortunes with which it was threatened; and it was by no means agreeable to them, to lose in a moment the fruit of so many labours, or to give up that prospect of public happiness, which seemed to be promised by so many brilliant presages. In consequence of these apprehensions, the intelligence of the King's coming excited the jealous attention of the deputies of the Cortes, and the members of the Regency, and both laboured to ensure the conservation of the new order of things, by binding the King in such terms that he could not destroy it, and that he should recognize in the law an authority superior to his own, to which he should render obedience.

The inhabitants of Cadiz, in whose city the regeneration of Spain and the establishment of the constitutional system had been achieved, were impressed with ideas suitable to that system, and had received, with the greatest enthusiasm, the principles of the sovereignty of the people, the responsibility of ministers, the national representation, together with the other political tenets dependent upon them. When Spain was evacuated by the French troops, the people of Cadiz opposed the removal of the Cortes to Madrid, being fully persuaded, on one hand, of the dangers which

awaited them in that capital; and on the other, of the security which they would enjoy in Cadiz, both on account of its impregnable position, and the valour and decision of its numerous and brilliant national militia. But the deputies did not wish to attend to such rational advice, and they proceeded to Madrid, where they continued their sittings, and where the Regency carried on with Ferdinand that correspondence of which we have just given an account.

That body laid the documents without delay before the Cortes, who resolved to deliberate upon the conduct which should be observed with respect to the King, in case he should return to Spain before the conclusion of a general peace. The opinion of the Council of State having been heard, the Cortes decreed, on the 8th of February, that the King should not be considered as free, and that no oath of obedience to him should be taken, until after his Majesty should have sworn, in the midst of the National Congress, to observe the Constitution, conformably to the provision in Article 173; that the generals commanding on the frontiers should take measures for sending by extraordinary couriers, all the intelligence which they might receive concerning his Majesty's arrival, in order that the Regency might make the necessary preparations for receiving him there; that no armed force should be allowed to enter with the King, and if any such force attempted to pass the

frontiers, that it should be resisted and repulsed according to the laws of war; that if the troops who accompanied his Majesty consisted of soldiers and officers who had been prisoners of war, the general officers in command should conform to the ordinances in force upon this subject; that the general-in-chief who should have the honour of receiving his Majesty, should give him an escort suitable to the royal dignity; that no foreigner whosoever should be suffered to accompany the King, not even in the capacity of an under officer or servant; that no Spaniard of those who had accepted employments given either by Napoleon or by his brother Joseph, should be allowed to accompany the King as a servant, or in any other capacity whatsoever; that the Regency should determine the route by which his Majesty should proceed to the capital, and fix the honours with which he should be received; that the President of the Regency should proceed to the frontiers, and thence accompany his Majesty to the capital; that the President should present to his Majesty a copy of the Constitution, in order that his Majesty might inform himself of its contents, and be enabled to take the oath to observe it with a perfect knowledge of what he was about; that the King, upon his arrival in the capital, should proceed immediately to the hall of the Cortes, and there swear to the observance of the Constitution, according to the ceremonies

prescribed by the regulations; that when all this had taken place, his Majesty should proceed to his palace, attended by thirty deputies, in order that he might receive from the Regency the deposit of the executive power; and finally, that the nation should be duly informed of these proceedings, through the medium of a decree which the Cortes would send to the King through a committee of thirty other individuals.

The Cortes at the same time issued an address to the people, stating, that the objects which they had proposed were, to close every door against the pernicious influence of France; to consolidate the bases of a Constitution which was an object of such general attachment; to preserve their captive King, at the critical period of his restoration to the throne of his ancestors, from the perverse counsels of strangers and traitors; and to ward off from the nation all those evils which could come within the reach of human foresight.

But these arrangements and declarations were not attended by any of those measures, which secure the issue of important political changes. As the greater part of the Spanish territory had been occupied during six years by the French troops, the Constitution, which was promulgated in Cadiz, was only known in that city and amongst the army, when the foreigners evacuated the Peninsula. The time which intervened between that evacuation and the arrival of the King was too

short to allow the people to be sufficiently instructed in the new institutions. The Cortes might have obviated this inconvenience, and supplied the want of popularity to the Constitution, by rendering it beloved by the soldiers, and confiding its defence to those bayonets which had just left the field of combat with so much success. But far from this, the troops were vexed and disgusted, as well by privations to which they were subjected, as by opinions unfavourable to them, which began to be expressed in the national Congress. A deputy, celebrated for his influence, had said in a public sitting, that the independence of the nation could not be safe, while there were in it four mercenary soldiers and a corporal. Add to this, the moral power exercised by the clergy, the mortal enemy of those institutions which threatened their opulence and their privileges; a clergy whose exertions had contributed so powerfully to excite men's minds in the recent struggle, and to give that religious character to the war which had rendered it so formidable; a clergy who had attributed to themselves all the honour of the victory, and who in consequence endeavoured to reap all its fruits: and some idea may be formed of the causes which influenced the conduct of Ferdinand, upon his entry into the Spanish territory.

This prince, during his residence at Valençay, had no other notions of the Constitution promulgated at Cadiz, than those with which the

French journals supplied him. It is evident, however, that he had recognized its legitimacy, as well as that of the powers which emanated from it, since, as we have already seen, he refused to answer the first propositions that were made to him by Napoleon, until after he should have consulted the Regency, whose authority originated in the Cortes, the authority of the Cortes being derived from the Constitution. The first copy of it which fell into his hands, was that which was given to him by General Palafox. Ferdinand read it in his carriage during his journey through France, and frequently mentioned to the persons in attendance upon him, that he approved of the greater part of its principles, finding them in unison with the antient laws and customs of the monarchy. But on arriving at the frontiers, the first thing he did was to disregard the route laid down for him by the Cortes, and to proceed to Saragossa, contrary to the preparations which they had made. In that city, the enemies of the Constitution began to put into operation the resources which they had provided, in order to induce his Majesty to trample under foot a work, which they described as a code of Jacobinism and impiety, as the fatal germ of discord and anarchy, and as the prelude to him of a destiny like that of Louis XVI. Unfortunately, every thing which the King had seen, and was still every day seeing with his own eyes, was fully sufficient to corrobo-

rate this representation, and particularly to make him believe that the Constitution was the work of a feeble and isolated faction, which was opposed by the general opinion of the nation. In all the towns through which the King passed, the multitude, excited by the friars and clergy, overturned the constitutional stone, and uttered the most atrocious insults against the Constitution, the Cortes, and the Liberals. In Valencia, other manœuvres were set at work, which were not less adapted to influence the Sovereign's mind. In that city were assembled all the writers, intriguers, and all the boldest members of the anti-constitutional party. Some, like General Elio, tampered with the troops, to proclaim the King absolute; others, like the writer who disguised his name under that of Lucindo, published the severest satires, the most violent diatribes, and the most absurd calumnies, against liberal ideas and their promoters. Some deputies of Cortes, belonging to the same faction, had sent a number of their body to Valencia, in order to present to the King the famous remonstrance styled that of the Persians *, in which a considerable part of the national representation protested against the legality of their own body, and against the acts which had emanated from it. In addition to these, the persons who had attended his Majesty during his capti-

* So called from an allusion in its commencement to a Persian custom.

ty, and in whom he reposed an unlimited confidence, strenuously endeavoured to separate him from the constitutional system, and advised its complete destruction and the punishment of its authors and supporters.

The President of the Regency, instead of going to receive the King at the frontiers, conformably to the orders contained in the decree already mentioned, was not able to see him until his arrival in Valencia, in consequence of his Majesty having taken a road different from that which was originally intended. There he presented himself to the King, and, upon making his obeisance, he refrained from the antient custom of the Spanish Court of kissing his Majesty's hand, in compliance with the instructions which were given him on this point by the Cortes. The King, having been secretly informed of this intention, and being resolved to regain all the power of his ancestors, commanded the Cardinal, in a very harsh tone, to kiss his hand. This being done, the King turned his back upon him, without attending to the discourse which he began to deliver. On the same day he deprived him of the archbishopric of Seville, and conferred it on one who, of all the clergy in Spain, was actuated by the most violent spirit of fanaticism and persecution.

All these incidents were only the precursors of that decisive blow, which he was about to strike

for the immediate annihilation of the new order of things, which the Cortes had created and introduced. On the 4th May, a royal decree was published, the production of the minister Macanaz, of whom we shall soon speak more at length, in which the King declared that the assembly of the Cortes in Cadiz was illegitimate; that the Constitution promulgated by them was null, and moreover, wicked and pernicious; that the enlightened ideas of the age did not permit him to govern his subjects despotically; and that, in consequence of this truth, his Majesty promised to convene the Cortes of Spain and America in a legal manner, and to decree, in concert with them, a Constitution capable of guarding against the dangers of despotism; that in that Constitution he would concede to every man the liberty of publishing his opinions through the medium of the press, under such repressive precautions as should be deemed expedient for guarding against its abuses; that his Majesty abhorred despotism, and was desirous only of governing according to law, paying every respect to personal liberty; that the congress of the Cortes was dissolved, and that the penalty of death should be inflicted upon every person, who would speak or take proceedings in its favour, or in that of the Constitution.

On the same day he issued another decree, relative to the liberty of the press, in which he ordained that, until an organic law should be passed on

the subject, all publications should be submitted to a previous censorship.

These two decrees having been published in Madrid, the Cortes, which continued assembled in that capital, holding its sittings as in the most tranquil times, and without having taken the least precautions for sustaining the constitutional regime, were dissolved by the persons who came from Valencia to administer the public authority in the name of Ferdinand. The army which occupied the province of Valencia declared openly for him; and one of its divisions, commanded by a foreign general, offered to reduce Madrid to obedience in case it were necessary. But this necessity did not arise; for although there was a sufficient number of troops in the capital to undertake measures of resistance, the inexperience of the general who commanded them, the discontent prevailing amongst the bodies of which they were composed, and the general enthusiasm of the lowest and most numerous part of the population of Madrid in favour of the King, would have been sufficient to frustrate all the efforts which they could have made, in order to save a vessel which had been hitherto so badly directed.

Ferdinand's entry into Madrid, and the unprecedented exultation with which he was received by the inhabitants, increased their hatred of the Cortes and the Constitution. He presented himself in the capital of his realm, surrounded by men

who, during his captivity, had done nothing to deserve his gratitude, and who infused into his mind the idea of adopting such violent and illegal proceedings. Thus was a sanction given to the triumph of one of the parties, which had divided Spain during the epoch that had just expired. Unfortunately, of all these parties, that which then came in, was the most destitute of men of merit and consideration. Most persons of character had ranged themselves either on the side of Napoleon, or of the national representation; the faction which so shamelessly supported the cause of despotism being composed of the least enlightened of the nobility, the dregs of the convents, and the lowest of the people, who were throughout Spain little more than the dependents of those two classes.

This triumph of their party excited their ambition in the most extraordinary manner, and encouraged them to the most violent excesses. Ferdinand saw himself surrounded by an immense multitude of men, who were as obscure as they were insolent, who openly demanded stipends for their denouncements, their accusations, and their various exploits in favour of the restored regime. Attachment to the royal person, words which meant the most inveterate hatred to liberal institutions, became the only qualification for every class of office and employment.

Thus, in a short time, all those who had obtained

situations under the constitutional regime having been displaced, the affairs of the nation were entrusted to the hands of a multitude of low men, inexperienced in office and destitute of every sort of knowledge, who could only maintain themselves in the situations which they had usurped, by continuing to carry on a treacherous and deadly war against those opinions which had brought about the ruin of their predecessors. This evil was general and without any exception. The tribunals, the intendencies, the ministry, the cathedrals, the army, every thing, yielded as before a torrent, to that spirit of faction which had made itself master of the throne. The worst effect of all, and that which most contributed to demoralize the Spaniards, was that a spirit of espionage, delation, persecution, and intolerance, formed so many qualifications which were entitled to reward. The offices of spy and informer were not only licensed, but honourable and lucrative, offices. They were exercised in the most open and undisguised manner. Even the confessional supported, in its dark and gloomy abode, this pernicious doctrine. In one word, the arrival of Ferdinand was Pandora's box for this unhappy nation.

Among the number of rash men who were more immediately near the King, and who were the chief advisers of his extravagant conduct, Macanaz and Ostolaza excited most general attention, on account of the blind confidence which the King

reposed in them, and the manner in which they abused it, and which ultimately brought about their own ruin.

Macanaz was the author of the famous decree of Valencia, and the principal instigator and mainspring of those persecutions, which we shall soon have to mention. Immediately after the arrival of the King at Madrid, he was appointed Minister of Grace and Justice, and having at his disposal all the employments in the judicature and the church, he thought only of selling them to the highest bidder, without attending to any other considerations or qualifications, than the clear amount which he might gain. This traffic was openly carried on, without the least precautions, by a Miss P——, a prostitute from the Palais-Royal in Paris, who cohabited publicly with Macanaz, and who, from the most infamous class of society, had thus risen to be the distributer of the offices of a great kingdom. The disorder and publicity of these proceedings arrived to such a pitch, that Ferdinand himself, in spite of his attachment to Macanaz, and of the advantages which he derived from having a minister whose inclinations were so congenial to his own, saw that it was absolutely necessary to put an end to them, and determined to take measures for that purpose. But the manner in which he executed his intentions, gave it to be understood, that the real cause of the disgrace of Macanaz was some personal offence which he had

committed against Ferdinand. The latter proceeded to the minister's house, attended only by one servant, almost at the break of day. He went to the side of the bed where Macanaz was yet sleeping, and he demanded from him the key of a particular case; he took from it and put into his pocket all the papers which it contained, and then withdrew, leaving the irritated minister in the custody of a strong guard.

The following day Macanaz was taken to the castle of San Anton, and an enigmatical decree was published in the Gazette, mentioning only several sums of money, to the restitution of which he was condemned. It is difficult to conjecture what papers they were, about which Ferdinand was so anxiously interested. It was said at that time that they consisted merely of the correspondence which he had maintained with Napoleon, during his residence at Valençay, and that the favourite had indiscreetly boasted of his power to expose his royal master to disgrace, whenever he wished to publish them. Others reported, that the object of his attention was only one particular letter, which had been much spoken about—the letter in which he congratulated Joseph Buonaparte on the happy result of the battle of Ocana. Be this as it may, Macanaz was detained in the castle of San Anton, one of the closest prisons in Spain, until the constitutional regime broke his chains. He was then entirely free, and he came to

Madrid, where he experienced not the slightest insult, nor any molestation whatever. Miss P— had preceded him, and obtained from the constitutional authorities the restitution of several things, which were comprised in the confiscation of her protector's property, and which she proved to belong to her.

Ostolaza, Ferdinand's other favourite during the first months of his reign, was an American ecclesiastic, who, to all the vices which can degrade the human character, added the most violent passions, and an audacity which enabled him to render these elements subservient to the most extensive and important projects. He was the King's confessor at Valençay, whence he effected his escape. He succeeded in arriving at Cadiz, where he was appointed a deputy to the Cortes. In that assembly he was the declared leader of the servile party; and it is worthy of remark, that although he opposed the abolition of the Inquisition, and all such measures as tended to impair the influence and riches of the clergy, he took part in the discussion of the form of the Constitution, voted for several of its most liberal articles, and, like all the other deputies, swore to maintain it. After the return of the King, he made no delay in demanding a recompense for the insults which he had received in Cadiz, when he was at the head of the serviles. He was immediately laden with appointments and honours, and was

even allowed to distribute them amongst his relatives and friends. Ferdinand, however, who had no taste for lectures and admonitions, was soon tired of those which this malignant hypocrite incessantly addressed to him, and he withdrew the favour which he had hitherto lavished upon him. Ostolaza then turned his views on the Infante Don Carlos: he was his confessor; and so deeply did he imbue his mind with terrors, scruples, and ascetical fooleries, that the unhappy youth was daily declining in health, in consequence of the penances and privations which he underwent. At the same time, Ostolaza endeavoured by intrigue to get himself restored to the confidence of the King. The new favourites, on the other hand, were resolved to get rid altogether of such a dangerous rival. The immense revenues which he drew from his ecclesiastical benefices, might have supplied him with the means of living in the most splendid manner; but having been appointed principal of a female hospice*, his unbridled passions found an unlimited field, and brought him into great disgrace. He sought to convert the hospice into a seraglio, and employed such means as the most diabolical cunning could invent, for the purpose of seducing the young girls of whom it was com-

* A religious establishment, in which poor females were educated under the care of nuns.

posed. With some he used force, with some the outward semblance of an exclusive and unconquerable passion, and upon others he prevailed by having recourse to mysticism and imposture. The pregnancy of some, the complaints of others, the flight of many, and the general scandal which such outrageous conduct occasioned in the province, awakened the attention of the ecclesiastical authority. Ostolaza was apprehended by order of the Bishop; but the Inquisition took the cause within its own jurisdiction, as it was discovered that one of the means of seduction which he employed, consisted in teaching the girls heterodox and impious doctrines, with respect to the innocence of certain actions which religion and morality condemned. Being removed to the famous convent of the Batuecas, he continued to indulge his ruling inclinations. Thence he was taken to the prisons of the Inquisition in Seville, where he died of vexation and anger. The proceedings in his case were published after the re-establishment of the Constitution; and a curious, though deplorable, picture they present, of passion, wickedness, and crime. Such details need no commentary; but they cannot be too often repeated, as they tend to encourage a salutary hatred of absolute power, and to animate those efforts which may be made to subdue it, and to destroy every chance of its re-establishment.

In the mean time, while Ferdinand was rushing headlong into every excess of despotism, and every aberration of caprice, the faction, at whose head he placed himself, and who governed in his name, pursued those persons, who had rendered themselves conspicuous during the antecedent epoch, with the most rigorous vengeance. Of the numberless tribunals which existed on that Gothic and absurd system re-established by Ferdinand, not one was deemed capable of furnishing the authors of this persecution with adequate means of accusation and revenge. It was found necessary to create a Commission of State, composed of the most implacable members of the law; a Commission which observed no other code, no other formula or rule, than that which its own passions suggested. At its head was placed the famous Count del Pinar, one of the firmest supporters of the anti-constitutional party during the residence of the Cortes in Cadiz. As the British ambassador, Sir Henry Wellesley, had, on the part of his government, obtained a pledge at Valencia that the penalty of death would not be inflicted for matters of opinion, the Commission was deprived of the satisfaction of burthening the scaffolds with victims; but, in exchange, it lavishly pronounced sentences of exile, fine, confiscation, and imprisonment.

Not only the deputies, the public writers, and leaders of the Constitutional party, were made the

objects of its fury, but even the most inactive and insignificant men, who had been mere spectators. Punishment was inflicted upon him who had had a deputy to dine in his house; who had frequented the galleries of the hall of the Cortes; who had been accustomed to read the periodical journals and pamphlets; who, as an actor, had performed in patriotic pieces; who, as an advocate, had in his defences broached any new doctrines; who, as a judge, had paid any attention in his decisions to the principles of that Constitution which he had sworn to maintain. It is scarcely necessary to say, that the Commission of State seldom bestowed a thought on any other object, than that of gratifying the personal resentments of the judges who composed it, and of the leaders of the party which they served. Each of these personages sent to the Commission a list of the individuals who had excited their hatred, and the Commission immediately fulminated their sentence against them. In these proceedings none of those forms were observed, which all cultivated nations have adopted, for the purpose of informing the conscience of the judge, and protecting the rights of the innocent. Imprisonment and condemnation, these were the only steps of which this infamous jurisprudence consisted. By its instrumentality, the dungeons and fortified towns *(presidios)* were filled with guiltless and honourable men; a great number of

families were exposed to misery and orphanage; and the royal power, absolute master of the whole administration of justice, extended the sphere of its attributes, and came in contact with no barrier which could restrain its abuses, or check its extravagance.

An episode of this melancholy drama will shew, that those who were most conspicuously engaged in it, were not less ignorant than cruel. In order to afford a plausible pretext for so much atrocity, it was necessary to invent some crime, as there was nothing of the kind in the political conduct of the accused; and the project of the formation of a republic appeared to be the one best adapted for exciting the hatred of the nation against them. In order to give this accusation some appearance of reality, it was announced in the public journals, that a French colonel, who had deserted from the army on its retreat, had excited the suspicions of the authorities. His name was Andinot. He was sent to prison; and, on being examined by a judge, he confessed that in conjunction with Arguelles, he had traced the plan of a Spanish republic. He was removed to Madrid, where Arguelles was at that time in confinement; and such were the contradictions and absurdities of the fictitious colonel, that the Count del Pinar, a judge in the cause, and one of the authors of the fabrication, could support it no longer. Colonel Andinot, who was no other than

the Countess of Benavente's* kitchen-boy, became a source of embarrassment to the faction which had employed him. Urged to despair, and vexed that his captivity was not terminated, and that the magnificent promises which had been held out to him were likely never to be realized, he declared to every body who went to see him in prison, the real history of the republic, and the names of its authors. He did more. Having escaped from the dungeon in which he was confined, he ascended one of the towers of the building, and from thence he shouted aloud to the people who were passing through the street, repeating his former confessions, and adding, that he was well aware that he had but a short time to live. His prediction was verified. His death was generally attributed to poison; and the power of those persons, who were compromised in the matter, left not the least doubt as to the authors of this fresh atrocity.

These monstrous proceedings having terminated, an epoch opened upon Spain which is quite new in the annals of modern history; an epoch distinguished by characteristic and peculiar features, which it would be vain to look for in the history of the most barbarous ages, or of the most enslaved and degenerate people. But as the events

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* The Countess of Benavente is one of the ladies who recently signed the famous address to the Duke d'Angoulême.

which appertain to that period, naturally range themselves under the titles of the different branches of public administration, it will be conducive to the clearness and order of our narrative, to class them under their respective heads. Thus the history of the six years, which elapsed from the restoration of Ferdinand until the re-establishment of the Constitution in 1820, will be comprised under the following different titles:—Foreign Relations—Government of the Interior—Ecclesiastical Affairs—Finance—War and Marine. The concluding section will be occupied with such miscellaneous anecdotes and events, as may tend to elucidate the manners and characters of the period of which we treat.

MEMOIRS OF FERDINAND VII.

FOREIGN RELATIONS.

THE system of government adopted by Ferdinand upon his return to Spain, was eminently suitable to the views of the Holy Alliance, and particularly agreeable to the high personages of which that body was composed. When the sovereigns were restored to the tranquil enjoyment and secure possession of their thrones, by the energy and virtue of their people, they naturally apprehended a reaction on the part of the latter, if, in exchange for the patriotism which they had shewn, and the sacrifices which they had made, their rulers were to give them again absolute and despotic governments. Hence the language of the monarchs was, in the beginning, mild and conciliatory. Hence they held out the most flattering hopes to their subjects, believing that it was expedient still to speak in that liberal tone, in which Alexander addressed the inhabitants of Poland. The most enlightened diplomatic persons of Europe were of opinion, that it was necessary to concede advan-

tages to the middling classes of society, which had so efficaciously contributed to the destruction of the common enemy; and he who would then have ventured to propose, in the councils of the sovereigns, those extensions of the royal power which have since taken place throughout Europe, would have been deemed a rash adviser, if not a real enemy of crowned heads. The Holy Alliance was then precisely in the situation of those fortunate men, who, being desirous of accomplishing a great enterprise, and not possessing courage enough to take the first step, from not knowing whether the ground is or is not safe, find another man of less prudence and less fear, who boldly ventures of his own free will to make an experiment of the danger, and teaches them, by his example, the evils or the advantages which they have to expect. Francis, Louis, and Alexander, saw in Spain the *caput mortuum* of this grand experiment of arbitrary power. They left Ferdinand to work at his ease, in order that they might observe to what extent the patience of nations would go; and when they saw that the people who had fought with so much glory, and during so many years, in defence of their king and their liberties, yielded with such docility to the yoke which was imposed upon them, they calculated that the same thing would be done by their own subjects, who had acquired comparatively inferior titles to the gratitude of their rulers. Europe has

witnessed the purposes to which this direful lesson has been applied, and the general imitation of that principle to which the conduct of Ferdinand imparted so much consistency and strength.

Ferdinand, then, being looked upon by the other sovereigns as the most useful instrument of their favourite plans, was the object of their marked attention. The diplomatic relations subsisting between the great Powers and the Court of Spain, were carried on under the seal of the most intimate friendship, and of the most active and delicate benevolence. The ambassadors who were sent to Madrid, enjoyed the particular and distinguished confidence of their respective sovereigns. They were received on a corresponding footing by Ferdinand, who treated them with the greatest familiarity. The conduct of England upon this occasion was a model of wisdom and moderation. Great as was the secret influence which the English cabinet exercised in Spain, (and that it did exercise such influence cannot be doubted,) still its representative in that court kept himself at a great distance from the political intrigues, in which his colleagues took so considerable a part. Upon one occasion alone did the British diplomatic agent interpose directly in public affairs; and this was when he demanded an adherence to the promise which was made at Valencia, that the penalty of death should not be inflicted upon any person accused merely of liberal

opinions. The famous cripple of Malaga was condemned to death in Madrid, and would have been taken to the scaffold, if Mr. Vaughan had not exerted an energy and an activity which reflect the greatest honour upon him. He demanded the prisoner's pardon from the minister Cevallos, threatened him with the just indignation of the Cabinet of St. James, and fixed an hour when an answer was to be returned to him. It were to be desired that the diplomacy of Europe contained more numerous specimens of this style in its annals.

Austria had no other relations with Spain than what arose from the analogy of its political principles. Its minister was a Venetian, without any sort of talent or influence, but a great enemy of liberty.

The enlightened Count de Werther was the representative of Prussia, and he was succeeded by a Hanoverian adventurer, who had been a private soldier in a Spanish regiment, and who distinguished himself by his bravery in the war of independence. The history of this man does not belong to political affairs, unless, indeed, so far as his remaining at any European court furnishes a proof of the perfect contempt, or the humiliating indifference, with which such court was looked upon by Prussia.

The negotiations which were carried on during this period with the government of the United States, were of great importance. They were

all, particularly those referring to the treaty concerning the Floridas, concluded with advantage to the Cabinet of Washington. It is believed that this result was mainly attributable to a Spanish diplomatist, who was not altogether inaccessible to the influence of American gold, and who has since filled up the measure of his equivocal life, by abandoning the duties which the nation had confided to him, and placing himself under the authority of the Regency in Madrid.

The French cabinet, whose object it was to proceed by the most direct road to the extinction of public liberty in Spain, and to sustain by every possible means the system adopted by Ferdinand and his advisers, accredited to this Prince a Montmorency, exclusively devoted to the dynasty of the Bourbons. This personage received from Ferdinand, as the reward of his uniform fidelity, the title of Grandee of Spain, together with the orders of the Golden Fleece and the Grand Cross of Charles III. It must, however, be admitted, that, during his residence in Spain, his conduct was ever frank and noble. His name no where appears throughout those diplomatic machinations, of which Spain was then the theatre. Hence when, in a later period, it was proposed to subvert the constitutional system, and for that purpose to poison the sources of prosperity in the Peninsula by every sort of corruption, to organise treason and perfidy, and to foment all the elements of civil

war, the Duke went out of office*, and was succeeded by a man in every way worthy and fit to undertake such enterprises.

Although Russia was not less separated from Spain by her political interests than by her geographical distance, yet her relations with the Cabinet of Madrid were upon a more intimate and influential footing, than those of any other power. Europe has witnessed the state of humiliation to which that empire was reduced by the arms of Napoleon; the deference which Alexander afterwards paid to that singular man, and the consent which he gave to the subjugation of Spain, and to the elevation of Joseph to its throne. It is notorious, that, if it had not been for the resistance of the Spaniards against that unjust invasion, approved of as it was by the Autocrat, he would never have thought of rescuing himself from the yoke which was imposed upon him, and which reduced him to a level with the most inconsiderable princes of the Confederation of the Rhine. Such was the degraded situation of that monarch, who has since conceived the idea of regenerating the whole civilized world, when the Constitutional Government, shut up in Cadiz, and sustaining from

* The author forgets that the system here complained of, was carried on principally while the Duke de Montmorency was in office. That nobleman went out upon very different grounds.—*Translator.*

thence a war as heroical as it was sanguinary, meditated to rescue him from his ignominious position, and to afford him an opportunity of emancipating his people, and of restoring to his crown the lustre of which it was deprived since he had placed it on his head. With this view, Don Francisco Cea Bermudez was sent to Petersburg. He was a man not less distinguished by the elevation of his sentiments, than by his dexterity in managing the most delicate affairs. His mission, however, was looked upon at first as little short of criminal in the Court of Muscovy. The diplomatic character which was conferred upon him by a legitimate government, was not acknowledged, his propositions were not even listened to, nor was he permitted to take up his residence in the capital of the empire. Cea, nevertheless, was not dismayed: being fully informed of the change of opinion which was taking place throughout the North of Europe, he foresaw that the moment was approaching when his presence might be useful, and his mission be considered in the most favourable light. He was not mistaken. The people, disgusted with the weakness of their rulers, took up arms for the common safety. The example of Spain awoke Europe from her lethargy. The war took a general range; and Alexander acknowledged the legitimacy of the Spanish government, and the character of its envoy, as he had before acknowledged the legitimacy of Joseph, and the character

of his plenipotentiary, Pardo Figueroa. M. de Tatistcheff was appointed representative of the Court of Petersburg at Madrid, and his arrival in the latter capital opened a new epoch in the annals of diplomacy.

Ferdinand, more judicious than his ignorant advisers, felt the necessity of some external support, in order to assist him to stand against the attacks to which he might be exposed from public opinion. Europe had recognized the Constitution promulgated at Cadiz; and, after the terrible lesson which the Ruler of France had given, it was interested in assisting every effort that was made for the restriction of absolute power. The indignation of the most enlightened men was strongly expressed in the English and French journals, against the line of conduct which was pursued by Ferdinand. Most of the Spanish liberals, who were able to effect their flight from persecution, resided in London or in Paris, where their mere presence was sufficient to condemn their persecutors. More than once were heard, in the representative assemblies of the two nations, the most vehement invectives against Ferdinand and his Ministers; and the miserable apologies of the *Courier*, dictated and paid for by a Spanish diplomatist who still represents his Cabinet at a Northern Court, only served to inform the public mind more and more, concerning the tyranny by which the unhappy Spaniards were oppressed.

Under such circumstances, Ferdinand looked upon the friendship of Alexander as a consolation sent him by Heaven; and the Emperor entered with particular satisfaction into an intimate correspondence with a prince, whose history had interested every man of feeling. Tatistcheff knew how to derive every possible advantage from these reciprocal dispositions; and having quickly penetrated the pusillanimous character of Ferdinand, and his docility in yielding to every impulse, he studied how he could best avail himself of these resources, not only for his own personal advantage, but also for the promotion of the general system which was adopted by the Holy Alliance, for raising the monarchical principle upon new and lasting bases.

Ferdinand was soon persuaded that the security of his throne, and the preservation of his dynasty, depended on the will of the Emperor; and that the only political conduct which could save him from the evils with which he was threatened, was his intimate friendship with that sovereign, and an implicit obedience to the insinuations of his cabinet. There was in the Court of Madrid, a great number of persons who were interested in keeping up and fostering this illusion; some on account of their hatred of England, which, being governed by liberal institutions, was necessarily a terrible example in the eyes of fanatics and perse-

cutors; some on account of their private ambition and their personal objects; and others, from having been already in communication with the Russian envoy, and from having assisted him in forming those plans which were afterwards put into execution. They constantly laid before Ferdinand numbers of the *Times*, the *Edinburgh Review*, the *Minerve*, the *Constitutionnel*, and other journals, in which he was spoken of in the most satirical manner, and accused of the most sanguinary designs. They induced him to believe that those invectives expressed the opinions not only of the people of Europe, but of several sovereigns and distinguished personages; that the discontented of the Peninsula counted on foreign support; that the secret societies throughout Europe had sworn his destruction; and that Russia alone, whose influence on the Continent had been increased in such an extraordinary manner by the late political events, could protect him from so many and such powerful enemies. The Russian plenipotentiary did not neglect such opportunities of drawing every possible advantage from apprehensions and hopes, which were so deeply impressed on the mind of the King. A great portion of the highest public functionaries in Spain devoted themselves entirely to Tatistcheff. Eguia, the Minister of War at that time, became the blind instrument of his will; and through his

means the Camarilla*, that invisible and formidable authority of which so much has been said in Europe, and which exercised so great an influence on the fortunes of Spain, was wholly Russian, and proceeded according to the impulse which it received from the agent of that country.

This individual, in order to exercise exclusive rule over that hidden council, endeavoured to have a man placed at its head who was entirely in his confidence; a man who could have emerged from the obscurity to which nature had destined him, only amidst such a scene of frightful disorder as Spain at that period exhibited.

Antonio Ugarte was originally a common porter in Madrid; he next became a sort of general agent in matters of business requiring some activity in him who transacted them. In this character he was employed by the Russian minister, when the latter came to Spain; and he was engaged in the same way by several French generals, during the stay of the troops of that nation in the Peninsula. Of such an inferior order were the

* The Camarilla (or small chamber) is a name which was applied in the palace to the interior rooms of the King's apartments. Hence the appellation of Camarilla was given to a set of men who used to assemble there, for the purpose of giving advice to Ferdinand, and of directing all the affairs of the monarchy. They exercised what would be called in England "an influence behind the throne."

services of Ugarte, that Tatistcheff treated him for a long time like one of his meanest servants; and more than once he was seen in the porter's room, conversing familiarly with that domestic, until he should be allowed to receive an audience of his master. Politics soon began to have a share in this insignificant connexion, and the astute diplomatist quickly perceived that a man like Ugarte might be of great use to him in the Spanish cabinet. Ultimately, through the support and exertions of Tatistcheff, Ugarte not only became Eguia's intimate friend and adviser; he not only ruled in a despotic manner the department of war, and consequently the Spanish army; but he also was admitted to the friendship and privacy of the King: and for several months his influence, more powerful as the means which sustained it were more concealed, could only be compared with that of Godoy in his most brilliant season.

This man's ambition would not, however, be satisfied with an equivocal position, which placed him at every step under the necessity of temporising with the ministers. It was found necessary to create a new sphere of power, which should be absolutely and exclusively under his control. He was appointed director-general of the expeditions destined for the conquest and pacification of America.

It is impossible to look back upon this period

without feeling the deepest indignation against those wicked and ambitious men who promoted that sanguinary and fratricidal war. Who would not have wept over unhappy Spain, seeing her fortunes depend upon a set of individuals of such unrivalled ignorance and atrocity? The Peninsula had just emerged from a violent and exhausting crisis; her resources were drained; her inhabitants were beginning to recover their losses; peace and repose were all they desired. The political state of Europe held out the hope of several years of tranquillity; and yet in such a delicate conjuncture, its government, carried away by chimerical ideas, which could enter only into the most disordered minds, forced it to make the severest sacrifices, sent off the flower of its population to bury themselves in the savanas of Costa Firma, without any chance of glory or reward. In the eyes of Ferdinand's advisers, the enterprise of again imposing the yoke of ignominious slavery upon those necks which had shaken it off, was as just, as it was easy to re-conquer, with a handful of discontented men, a brave and numerous people, amongst whom ideas of independence had excited that enthusiasm which gives such an impulse to valour, and is so fertile in finding out assistance and resources. The expeditions which were organized in Spain for the purpose of carrying this object into effect, consisted of the best troops of the

army; and the most violent and absurd financial measures were taken for their equipment. When the public treasury and the commerce of Cadiz were exhausted, an arbitrary contribution of five dollars was levied on every shop, of whatever sort or size, throughout the Peninsula and the adjacent islands. This contribution was collected with the greatest rigour; and its vast amount, like that of all the expeditionary funds, was to pass through the hands of Ugarte. He was not obliged to account to any one for its management, or application, or to consult the ministers upon any of those measures which such extensive operations required. He communicated directly with the generals, intendants, and all the public functionaries of the department which was confided to him, and they had only to yield implicit obedience and respect to his orders and signature. Thus were collected together those hecatombs, destined to be sacrificed to the most atrocious despotism which ever dishonoured the human race. Thus were prepared, with cold and barbarous cruelty, the destruction of the youth of Spain, and the ruin of its finances.

Ugarte's services, in this singular employment, were not, it would seem, disagreeable to the Emperor Alexander, as his Imperial Majesty condescended to bestow on him the cross of St. Anne. In return, Tatistcheff was created Knight of the

Golden Fleece*, and all the persons attached to his legation received the order of Charles III.

The influence of Russia did not limit itself to the sphere of the palace: it was also felt in the police and tribunals of Madrid. The recommendations of the Russian diplomatists were always sufficient to procure a decision in favour of the person recommended, whatever was the matter in question; and whilst the Spanish armies moved at Tatistcheff's command, the gates of the prisons were opened in order to give liberty to such individuals as his subalterns protected.

It was during this period that the famous contract for the Russian frigates was made; a contract in which the Court of Petersburg exhibited as much interest and haste, in furnishing Spain with the means of carrying on an unnatural war against America, as it did in getting rid of three rotten vessels, for which it received a considerable sum of money. The unequivocal acknowledgment which was made at Cadiz of the utter inutility of these

* The Golden Fleece is the highest and most distinguished order in Europe. Up to the time of Charles IV. it was conferred only on sovereigns, or on persons not less distinguished for their birth than their services. That monarch gave it to several grandees of Spain, and to the ambassadors from the princes of the house of Bourbon, with whose cabinets that of Spain had entered into an understanding on this subject. It was reserved for Ferdinand to adopt the curious innovation of conferring it on a plebeian.

frigates, excited Alexander's generosity to present two others to the Spanish Government which were less objectionable; and these different occurrences furnished his representative with a new opportunity of exerting his influence over the mind of Ferdinand.

Tatistcheff went to Cadiz; and the ministers Pizarro and Garay wished to profit of his absence, for the purpose of effecting, if not a political regeneration in the country, at least the rescue of the King from the disgraceful state of pupillage in which he was placed. The former of these two personages was looked upon with hatred, by the party which had the ascendant in the palace, and the latter made himself feared by those persons who lived at the expense of the treasury and under the shelter of its disorder, by a plan which he had endeavoured to introduce for the management of the revenue, and which was founded chiefly on the system of direct contribution. The whole of the party, at whose head stood Tatistcheff, Eguia, and Ugarte, had determined on the ruin of two such dangerous enemies, and nothing was easier than to carry their resolution into effect. The King had transacted business one evening to a late hour with his two ministers Pizarro and Garay: he left them with that familiarity which belongs to his character; a few hours after, they were both dragged from their beds, *by order of the King*, and ordered in the middle of the night, without giving them the

least time to make preparations for a journey, to set out attended by a strong escort of cavalry, one for Aragon, and the other for Valencia. The persecution did not stop here. Pizarro's wife, who was not less interesting for her distinguished merit, than on account of her being far advanced in pregnancy, excited general sympathy. This feeling was a crime in the eyes of her husband's enemies. Without listening to her entreaties, without giving the slightest consideration to the risk to which her life would be exposed, she was ordered to quit Madrid without delay. In the mean time, Tatistcheff negotiated in Cadiz with the Marquis of Casa Irujo, and offered him the Ministry of State, upon condition of his unlimited subservience. The Marquis, in every way qualified to be the companion of Eguia and the dependent of Tatistcheff, soon entered on his office, and complied in the most exact manner with the conditions upon which he had obtained it.

It may be affirmed, without fear of contradiction, that during Tatistcheff's residence in the Peninsula, there was no transaction of the slightest importance, in any department of the state, to which he did not give his sanction; and every one who is acquainted with the details of the epoch of which we are speaking, knows that his influence was never exerted, except for the purpose of degrading the Spanish nation; giving it for public functionaries the most ignorant and intolerant

men, in order to carry on the ruinous system of expeditions, and to remove every hope of useful reform in the general scheme of government.

What a fruitful source of observation does this part of Ferdinand's history present to those who know how to follow the chain of human events, and to trace out, through their affinities and analogies, the complicated connexion between cause and effect! On one hand, look at the contrast which the Russian monarch, proclaiming to Poland the triumph of liberal ideas, presents to his own minister persecuting liberal ideas in a country which had saved its independence by them. On the other, observe the activity and the audacity with which the same sovereign, scarcely risen from the humiliation in which he was held by the conqueror of Austerlitz, sought to rule other countries and governments, impelling them into different paths, but always constituting himself their prime mover, and offering them his assistance and co-operation. For what purpose did Russia promote in Madrid the consolidation of the absolute system, and draw closer the ties between herself and Ferdinand, in proportion as the latter became more despotic and more hostile to the laws and to his people, at the very time when, in Italy, she closely connected herself with the discontented, penetrated into their secret associations, offered them all sorts of assistance, and even pointed out to them the man who

was best adapted to place himself at their head, and to unite the whole of the beautiful Italian peninsula under a liberal and representative government?* It is also remarkable, that, from amidst these destructive expeditions, which formed the principal basis of Alexander's policy with regard to Spain, arose that spirit of liberty and patriotism, which subsequently established itself at the Cabezas, and, having rapidly spread through a people always fond of independence, has since caused such serious alarm to him who collected the materials of that vast and powerful conflagration. Thus, the Russian cabinet, although its agents took such a considerable part in the tyranny which oppressed Spain during six years; although such immense sums were exacted by its dependents, in order to accomplish its political views; although its preponderance encouraged the deluded Ferdinand recklessly to pursue that career, by which he was bringing ruin on the nation; yet that very cabinet may be considered as one of the most potent instruments of which Providence availed itself, in order to awaken Spain from her lethargy, and to afford her, at least for a season, some knowledge of liberty.

* This man was the Prince of Carignan, whose intimate relations with the Russian ambassador at the Court of Turin contributed more and more to delude the unsuspecting Italians, who believed that the Court of Russia was interested in the expulsion of the Austrians from Lombardy.

Tatistcheff was recalled to Petersburg a few days before the revolution of the Isla, either because his dexterity was required in order to carry on some other diplomatic intrigues, or because certain complaints, which were made by some jealous Spaniards, had reached the ears of the Emperor. Upon his retirement from the Court of Madrid, that intimate friendship which had hitherto subsisted between the two courts in a great measure ceased: his successor, a man of little ambition, and no tact in matters of court intrigue, kept himself in a state of comparative obscurity, and it is understood that he disapproved of a system which had rendered the name of Russia so odious in the Peninsula.

About this time, the marriage of Ferdinand with Maria Isabel, and that of his brother Charles with Maria Francisca of Braganza, both daughters of the King of Portugal, took place; events which, considered under a diplomatic point of view, were rather remarkable. The principal agent in a transaction which, on account of its political consequences, must always be considered as one of the greatest importance, was an obscure Franciscan friar, whom the disturbances in the American colonies had thrown upon the coast of Brazil. Having introduced himself into the royal family, he suggested this double marriage, and came to Spain to propose it to the Princes. Frai Cirilo de la Alameda was perfectly well received by them: his proposi-

tions were accepted; and, in order to reward him for such an important service, he was appointed General of the Franciscan order, and invested with the dignity of Grandee of Spain, of the first class.*

But this was not the only remarkable circumstance which occurred in consequence of this event. When the Princesses approached the coast of Spain, intelligence arrived at Madrid that the Portuguese had made themselves masters of Monte-Video; an event which greatly exasperated the pride of the Spaniards, and revived their ancient hatred against the other peninsular nation. The Council of State expressed an opinion that the proposed marriages should not take place; and the Infante Don Antonio wished, moreover, that the persons of the Princesses should be retained as hostages,

* The office of General of the Franciscans has always been considered a post of the greatest importance, as, in consequence of the severe laws of the cloister, he who held it had at his disposal several thousands of men, united together by the same interests, and possessing great influence in society. The General's income consisted of one pesetta (about a shilling English) a week, which each of the convents of the order contributed. Of these there were no fewer than 12,000 before the invasion of Spain by Napoleon's troops. Frai Cirilo de la Alameda did not light on so brilliant an epoch; but he gained, nevertheless, several millions in the few years which intervened between his promotion and the revolution of the Isla. The friars were then subjected to the authority of the bishop, which put an end to such a monstrous order of things.

until the usurped territory should be restored. The beauty, the grace, and the engaging manners of the Queen, totally disarmed this well-founded anger. Upon her ascending the throne, the hope was kindled in every breast that she would mitigate the yoke by which Spain was oppressed. This hope increased in proportion as the Queen developed those amiable qualities with which nature had endowed her. But all these delusions soon vanished; and the grief of the Spaniards was as general as it was sincere, when they heard that, in consequence of a severe indisposition, the life of that interesting Princess was despaired of. Her sister, who enjoyed better health, and whose marriage promised a considerable increase to the dynasty of the Bourbons, never excited in Spain the same feelings of esteem and attachment. Hostile as her consort to liberty, and not less haughty and enterprising than her mother, she frequently endeavoured to excite Ferdinand to take violent measures against the Constitutional system, which he had so often promised to observe. Under the circumstances of the period, the presence of that Princess in the palace contributed not a little to the continual disgust which embittered the lives of the distinguished personages who inhabited it.

Ferdinand's third marriage with his present consort, Maria Josefa Amalia of Saxony, was negotiated by the Marquis de Cerralvo. This princess is distinguished not less by the gracefulness of her

person, than by the elevation of her mind, and appears determined not to take any part in public affairs.

We may observe, from the picture which we have just sketched, how frail and how imprudent are all those projects and calculations, which are founded upon interests incompatible with the general welfare, and upon a selfish and exclusive policy which pays no regard to the happiness of the community. Every thing which was done by foreign diplomacy in support of Ferdinand's absolute rule, turned out to the discomfiture both of Ferdinand and of despotism; and at the very moment that this monarch was most strongly urged to proceed in the disastrous career which had been opened for him, the most contemptuous insults were offered to his cabinet; for not only in the arrangement of the indemnities at Paris, amongst the belligerent powers, was the most paltry share allotted to Spain, which had been the greatest sufferer, but she was not even allowed a voice in the Congress which was to decide the fate of Europe: neither was she permitted to send a commissioner to the Island of St. Helena, according to the convention entered into at Paris by the great sovereigns.

As it is more convenient to treat of the relations subsisting between Spain and the See of Rome, under the head of Ecclesiastical Affairs, we shall only add, that the party in the Court of the

Tuileries, which supported the ideas that were put in practice by Ferdinand, looked upon that prince with admiration, and held out his government to all Europe as a model worthy of general imitation. Viscount Chateaubriand published, in December 1819, an eloquent composition, in which he endeavoured to prove the solidity, the beauty, the justice, and the happy consequences of a similar system of government. Ferdinand was reading this composition, when he received intelligence of the revolt at the Cabezas!

MEMOIRS OF FERDINAND VII.

GOVERNMENT OF THE INTERIOR.

THE government of Spain had been for many ages purely municipal; and, therefore, eminently popular and mild. Continual wars, frequent divisions of territory, and the character of the nation, which strongly inclines to provincial government, contributed chiefly to the general adoption of this system. Assisted by the influence of the Ayuntamientos, which, though isolated, was always beneficial, it tended to raise agriculture and manufactures to a high degree of prosperity. When the despotism of the house of Austria completely destroyed this fabric of public liberty, it was necessary to concentrate the sovereign power in order to render it more irresistible; for, if the cities had been permitted to remain in the enjoyment of their former privileges, the tyranny never would have been consolidated. By a monstrous combination, which appears diametrically opposed to the simplest notions of common sense, the administrative authority was vested almost exclusively in the Council of Castile. In some

cases, this was a tribunal for original proceedings; in others, it was one of appeal and of final judgment: it was composed of men who were brought up in scholastic legislation, and who had grown old in the routines, delays, and intricacies of the inferior tribunals. Such men could have been placed at the head of government affairs only for the purpose of paralyzing their course, and of establishing, in the management of them, that judicial tyranny which is the inseparable companion of political despotism.

The Bourbon dynasty confirmed this absurd system, although it was slightly varied under the reign of Charles III; whose minister Florida-blanca widened the jurisdiction of the cabinet, at the expense of that of the Council of Castile. Thus was introduced, into this chaos of arbitrary rule, a new element of discord and of rivalry. It is true, that in the provinces the Ayuntamientos still preserved some power; but every part of it yielded to the dictate of the captain-general, a kind of bey, who united in himself an unbounded authority, being commander of the armed force which occupied the provinces, president of the tribunal of appeal which resided in each of them, and absolute chief of all the branches of administration, police, and civil government. Godoy increased the power of these functionaries; but the Constitution of 1812 put an end to such an intolerable abuse, by creating the political chief-

tancies and the provincial deputations, whose power, together with that of the Ayuntamientos, could only be exercised for the benefit and happiness of the people.

When the Constitutional system was destroyed, the ancient disorder was re-established, and, if possible, increased, by the vindictive passions of those men to whom Ferdinand confided the public employments. The punishment and persecution of the liberals, the freemasons, the Afrancesados—in short, of all meritorious and enlightened men—appeared to be the only object, the only stimulus, the only duty, of the Spanish government. This purpose gave life to all its operations and resolutions; and from the ministers down to the lowest officer of the police, all those who received pay from government, were exclusively devoted to the business of filling the prisons with victims, and of extorting from the most innocent actions, and even the noblest traits of patriotism, pretexts for proceedings the most voluminous and the most severe. In order to give to this vast persecution all the bitterness which the passions of its authors could impart, men were placed in the commands of the provinces as captains-general, whose characters were immoral, sanguinary, and ferocious. They rivalled each other in their endeavours to earn the approbation of the Court, and to distinguish themselves in the career of tyranny; but the Count Abisbal, in Cadiz, and Don Fran-

cisco Xavier Elio, in Valencia, made themselves conspicuous above all the rest. These two important scenes of the epoch in which we are engaged, deserve that we should enter a little into their curious details.

Henry O'Donnell, the son of an Irish officer who distinguished himself in the service of Spain, was colonel of a regiment of infantry, at the beginning of the war of the invasion; and having distinguished himself by undoubted valour, and by his dexterity and activity in the organization of his corps, he speedily rose to the rank of general, and obtained the command of a considerable army in Catalonia. In this new office he was not capable of sustaining his former reputation. He was entirely ignorant of the science of movements; and being without that military perception which is so necessary for strategetical operations, and that solidity of mind which is requisite for the formation of extensive plans, all his skill was reduced to impetuosity of attack. Hence he continually compromised his army, and brought upon it losses of serious consequence. The Cortes conferred upon him the title of Count of Abisbal, from the name of a place in which he gained an insignificant action, and nominated him Regent of the kingdom. In this station he gave so many proofs of his attachment to the Constitution, and shewed himself so zealous a defender of its liberal principles, that the patriots all deemed him as one of its firmest

pillars. They looked upon him as a man who would be highly useful and valuable, should despotism ever re-appear. After the return of Ferdinand, the Count was one of the first to make an unqualified retractation of his political errors; and as a reward for this symptom of his *attachment to the royal person*, he was intrusted with the command of the army which was to enter France, during the hundred days of the second reign of Napoleon. When this brief and insignificant campaign was over, O'Donnell was appointed captain-general of Andalusia and governor of Cadiz.

In order to understand the importance of such a situation, it is necessary to observe, that Cadiz, which was the cradle of liberal ideas, which was in military occupation when the King returned to Spain, and the inhabitants of which, exclusively devoted to commerce, had always been the declared enemies of the Court and of despotism, had not ceased to excite the apprehensions of government. It could not believe that so many elements of resistance and of indignation could long remain chained and inactive. The public functionaries, who were appointed for that city, immediately after the re-establishment of absolute power, took good care to nourish those apprehensions, not only for the purpose of prolonging the system of vengeance which was adopted by every body in office, but also that they might obtain the favour of the King and the ministers, by making them believe

that their activity and zeal had contributed to prevent a revolution. O'Donnell, animated by the same principles, presented himself in a city in which he had before displayed his liberal opinions with the frenzy of enthusiasm, and his arrival filled the inhabitants with terror. He, and a band of immoral men, of which his circle was composed, did not conceal their designs; they said that they came to root out conspiracies, to punish the conspirators, and to exterminate all those impious liberals who found refuge in Cadiz.

Far from conspiring against the government, the inhabitants only thought of protecting themselves from the evils by which they were menaced; and O'Donnell, who did not find such tranquillity convenient, determined of himself to disturb it, and to fabricate a conspiracy, which in reality had no ground of existence. One night, when Cadiz was wrapped in the deepest repose, he ordered the drums to beat to arms, drew out the garrison, and planted four pieces of artillery in the beautiful square of St. Antonio, which serves as a public walk. He stationed a large guard of cavalry in the saloons of the coffee-house of Apollo, which is in the same square; ordered the proprietor of the house, who was seriously ill, to rise from his bed;* compelled him, at that hour, to send for a painter,

* The unfortunate man died of the terror which this tyrannical act caused him.

and to change the inscription of the "Coffee-house of Apollo," into that of the "Coffee-house of the King;" crowded the streets with patrols; and, when it was scarcely day-break, he issued the most severe orders, accompanied with the most sanguinary threats and the most ridiculous regulations against meetings. It is impossible to describe the terror which reigned in Cadiz, when all these proceedings were made generally known. No person could divine the motives which had dictated such serious measures. In Cadiz there had not been the least symptom of sedition; but, for the very reason that the tyrant wanted grounds for selecting his victims, each person feared, naturally enough, that he himself might be of the number. At length this storm spent itself, without any other result than the presentation of the Grand Cross of Charles III. to O'Donnell, which he obtained as the reward of his zeal in having prevented the *catastrophe* which threatened the country.

His officious disposition remains yet to be seen. The Inquisition had called for the assistance of the public authorities against libertinism and impiety, and complained bitterly of the disrespect and indecorum with which some young men had conducted themselves in the churches. The Council of Castile, which had lost even the last shadow of its former respectability, and which was no more than the blind instrument of the passions and caprices of despotism, issued a circular, in which it urged the

public authorities to enforce, in the strictest manner, that reverence which was due to the churches; and recommended them to visit with the severest punishments all who infringed it. Count Abisbal constantly sought for fresh opportunities to signalize his loyalty. Being one day at mass in the parish-church of St. Antonio, in Cadiz, and observing two men who remained without kneeling during the time of the elevation of the Host, he ordered them to be taken to prison; whence he condemned them to be sent, for several years, to a fortress. The two unfortunate men proved, in the clearest manner, that they were afflicted with pains which would not permit them to kneel without inconvenience; but this lawful justification did not mitigate their fate.

The conduct of Elio, in Valencia, was still more extravagant, and, what is worse, more sanguinary and cruel. Elio exercised a powerful influence over the mind of the King, from the moment of his Majesty's arrival within the territory of Spain; and we have already seen the use which he made of it upon a memorable occasion. Finding himself placed at the head of a party which had gained such a complete victory, and in the rule of a province which at all times was agitated, and which, during the short reign of the Constitutional government, had most energetically and decidedly proved its attachment to that system, he was enabled to gratify, to its utmost extent, the thirst of

vengeance which burned within him. He had sufficient opportunities for letting loose the furies of his atrocious, choleric, and implacable mind. The system of police which he established in Valencia, could only be compared to the relentless persecutions which were carried on by the Roman dictators, or by the French decemviri. The city was crowded with spies, whose only business it was to seek out victims; and, for that purpose, to put a wicked construction upon the most innocent actions, and to stamp with criminality the relations of friendship and the bonds of mutual confidence. The judges of the Audiencia, the members of the Ayuntamiento, the intendant, the commanders of the garrison troops; in short, all those who were dependents on Elio; were nothing more than the pliable instruments of his injustice and insolence. Day after day the prisons were filled with honourable men, whose crimes nobody knew: from the prisons they were transferred to the fortresses of Africa, in consequence of inquisitorial proceedings, founded generally upon the accusation of an enemy or of a secret agent of the dictator; and, to add to their misfortunes, their property was taken away from them by a sentence of confiscation. The most respectable and tranquil habitations were violated in the silence of the night; and the secrets of families, and the recesses of domestic virtue, were searched into by men of the most infamous characters. The duties of the military were per-

formed as if a hostile army were besieging the place; and no person could enter the city, without being conducted by a soldier before the captain-general, who strictly examined the stranger, and frequently, upon the most frivolous pretexts, refused him permission of entrance, and ordered him to be sent back to the gates, as if he were a convicted culprit. New conspiracies were continually announced; and these rumours were the precursors of new insults, and of new police regulations of the most rigorous and absurd nature. Ultimately every feature of cheerfulness, repose, and security, disappeared from that beautiful city; and there was not one of its inhabitants who did not expect, from one moment to another, the fatal order which was to tear him from the arms of his family, and deprive him of his liberty and property.

The principal object of these severities was to try the patience of the Valencians, and to force them to the commission of some violent act, which would afford a pretext for new and greater iniquities. Thus, in fact, it happened. Some spirited young men, wearied of so much oppression, formed a project to assassinate Elio; and after gaining over a part of the garrison which agreed to join them, they fixed on Valencia as the centre and mainspring of a political revolution, which might in time extend itself over the whole realm. The plan was well combined, and carried on with the greatest secrecy until a few moments before its execution;

when one of the soldiers, who was to have aided the conspirators, went to Elio's house, and discovered the whole of the proceedings. Elio, who cannot be denied the merit of distinguished personal bravery, immediately hastened, with a small guard, to the place where the conspirators were assembled. The latter put themselves in an attitude of defence, and grappled in a desperate struggle with the enemy. In this contest Elio fought hand to hand with lieutenant-colonel Vidal, the leader of the conspiracy, and stabbed him to the heart. His companions yielded to the superior numbers of the troops, who soon assembled, and mastered them. They were conducted to prison; and, after some judicial proceedings, the precipitancy, informality, and injustice of which, are unexampled in the annals of despotism, they were shot on the walls of Valencia. They all died with the most unshaken courage, especially the young Bertran de Lis, son of the well-known banker of that name. "I die content," he exclaimed, as he approached his death, "I die content, because my blood will be avenged." A few hours after the execution, Elio went to gratify his sight with this bloody spectacle.

While the provinces submitted to these calamities, the capital groaned under the yoke of every sort of tyranny. The innumerable public functionaries who resided there, rivalled each other in activity, in order to distinguish themselves in the career of persecution, fanaticism, and intolerance.

The different wheels of the machine of government were enlarged and complicated in such a manner, that the supreme authority was no more than a chaos of anarchy. The Council of Castile, its president the Duke of Infantado, the alcaldes of the criminal court, the corregidor of Madrid, the Ayuntamiento, the captain-general of the province, the governor of the capital, the two tribunals of the Inquisition, residing there, were so many centres of authority, which, although that authority was distributed through different departments, usurped the jurisdiction of each other, and operated separately and with the same degree of power, when the question related to political and religious persecutions. Eguia, during the time he was minister of war, augmented this dreadful disorder by introducing a system of religious-military persecution; an amalgamation of the inquisitorial and military laws, which formed one of the most singular characteristics of the period.

Eguia is a man who has grown grey in the routine of military service, without having opened a book, and without having advanced, in point of knowledge, beyond the level of the lowest vulgar. His hatred of every sort of innovation is a kind of frenzy, and has arrived to such a degree, that he even yet preserves the cue of the time of Frederick II; whence he has obtained the nickname of Coletilla, or Little Cue, by which he is known throughout Europe. Superstitious, the ene-

my of knowledge, the oppressor of youth, implacable in his vengeance, and master of the King's mind, it was natural that he should give himself up to his favourite opinions and passions, and that, in order to satiate them, he should make abundant use of all the means which were in his power. The Inquisition offered him its dungeons and tortures, and he accepted the offer with infernal joy. Hence arose a new, monstrous, and heterogeneous jurisdiction, whose object was to persecute and punish such soldiers as were guilty of impiety, liberalism, or freemasonry.

The mode of proceeding in these cases was worthy of the most barbarous ages, and of the most savage people. As soon as an accusation touching these crimes was made, of whatsoever nature it was, the accused was forthwith committed to the prison of the Inquisition. Two fiscals were then appointed, one belonging to the Inquisition, the other to the military, who instituted distinct proceedings, both most arbitrary and absurd. After numberless declarations, accusations, and even injuries and blows, inflicted by the hands of the judges themselves,* the accused never heard again

* The judge Galinsoga, who had charge of the cause of a youth named Belda, who was afterwards deputy of Cortes, not only shut him up in a narrow, humid, vaulted dungeon, without permitting himself, or any body else, to wash or shave him; but also frequently beat him, the unfortunate victim not being able to defend himself, as he was chained.

of his trial, nor ever after was suffered to see any other person but his jailer, who served him with a miserable portion of food. This imprisonment, a thousand times worse than death, had no term; and, doubtless, it would have endured as long as the life of its victims, if the revolution of the 1st of January, 1820, had not broken the prison-doors, and restored to society more than four hundred persons who had disappeared from it. The greater number of them had been apprehended in consequence of a vast masonic confederacy having been discovered in Grenada, the history of which will serve to shed additional light upon the epoch of which we treat.

Freemasonry was known in Spain from the time of Charles III; but, being compelled to avoid the persecutions of the Inquisition, which was more exasperated against it than against the most avowed heresies, its existence was at first precarious, interrupted, and unimportant. At the time of the irruption of Napoleon's troops into the Peninsula, this association was extended, and it counted an immense number of proselytes, when the Cortes of Cadiz abolished the "tribunal of the faith." The re-establishment of that tribunal, and the general persecution of all liberal and enlightened ideas, gave to the meetings of the society a political and conspiratorial character. At first they succeeded in avoiding the searching gaze of their enemies; whence they obtained greater consistency, and in time ac-

quired confidence, which, however, too soon degenerated into an imprudent boldness. Ultimately they organized themselves into one united body, directed by a *Grand East*, which was established in Grenada; and they numbered amongst their members individuals elevated in the hierarchy, and eminently distinguished for their talents, wealth, and influence. The *East* of Grenada, confiding in the enlightened ideas which prevailed in that city, the Athens of Spain, not only did not take any of those precautions which are necessary to every secret society in a country ruled by a despotic government; but even its members, to a certain extent, defied the authorities, boasting of a power superior to that which these possessed. In a short time they saw the consequences of their rashness. All the members of the *East*, with the exception of two or three who were able to escape, and a great number of other individuals scattered throughout the Peninsula, and especially in the provinces of Andalusia, were apprehended on the same day, confined in deep dungeons, and treated with the greatest cruelty. Amongst them was Don Juan Vanhalen, whose adventures are in some respects singular, and worthy of being interwoven with the history of the period.

The crimes of which Vanhalen stood accused, appeared to Eguia and his advisers to be of such a grave and important character, that, although he had been apprehended in Murcia, where the In-

quisition was the severest in all Spain, he judged it expedient to have him removed to Madrid, where he was shut up in one of the darkest dungeons in the building. When the interrogatories were commenced, Vanhalen began to display in his answers a degree of resolution, constancy, and boldness, which had few examples in the history of that tribunal. In fact, he appeared not like a person against whom appalling charges were brought; but as an enthusiastic apologist of a crime which he took upon his own head, as an apostle of liberal and patriotic ideas, and a violent accuser of his persecutors and enemies. Wearied out with the questions which were incessantly put to him, for the purpose of discovering his plans and his accomplices, he answered, that in truth there did exist vast plans, and an immense body of powerful and formidable conspirators; but he said that he would not discover a particle of his secrets unless to the King himself; that if the King would give him a private audience, he would reveal to his Majesty not only those points which the judges were anxious to find out, but also many other things of the greatest importance.

Ferdinand having been informed of this extraordinary circumstance, acceded to the proposition, and ordered Vanhalen to be brought before him. Not less firm and composed before the King than he was before the judges, Vanhalen informed him, that freemasonry had spread such deep roots in Spain,

that all the power of government, and all the terrors of death, were not strong enough to destroy it; that all the public offices in the capital and the provinces, all the regiments of the army, and even the convents and cathedrals, contained within them a countless number of masons; that the object which they all had in view was to introduce into the country a form of government analogous to the ideas of the age, to extinguish the spirit of fanaticism and persecution which oppressed and degraded Spain, and to place her on a level with the most cultivated and flourishing nations of Europe; that, far from desiring to do the least injury to the person of the King, or to diminish in any manner his legitimate authority, they were ready to defend him in every danger, and to give him a more solid, more glorious, and more secure power, than he now possessed; that his Majesty ought to imitate the example of the King of Prussia, the Prince of Orange, and other sovereigns of Europe, who, impressed with the advantages of the masonic society, into which none but men of virtue and merit were admitted, had placed themselves at its head, and thus, to a certain extent, surrounded themselves with enlightened supporters; that if the religious opinions of his Majesty were in any manner opposed to freemasonry, on account of its having been condemned in different bulls, which fulminated excommunication against its members, it would be easy to obtain from the present Pope,

and from Cardinal Gonsalvi, who was well informed of every thing that was going on in Europe, the abolition of those bulls, which were really illusory, considering the state of modern society: finally, that his Majesty might rest assured, that the more actively the masons were persecuted and imprisoned, and the more severe the punishments which were inflicted upon them, the wider would the society be propagated, the greater the strength it would obtain, until it would achieve the political objects which it proposed. The King heard this address with great attention; perhaps it would have made a profound impression upon him, if the flatterers who surrounded him had not diverted him from it, by insinuating into his mind fatal delusions, and persuasions of a blind security. Thus much, however, is certain, that he treated Vanhalen with the greatest kindness, and having learned from him that the most exquisite of the privations which he suffered in his confinement was that of tobacco, he gave him a case of Havannah segars, from those which he had for his own use.

When Vanhalen was again shut up in his prison, he found himself exposed to greater cruelties than ever, as the boldness with which he had spoken to the King was unpardonable in the eyes of Eguia and the inquisitors. Not satisfied with his former answers, with respect to his accomplices, they resumed the examinations upon this

point with greater earnestness; and seeing that their endeavours were useless, they ordered that Vanhalen should suffer the torture of the *bracelet*, which consists in suspending the accused by one arm, torturing it at the same time by means of a hollow arm of iron, into which that of the victim was introduced. Without breathing a complaint, Vanhalen suffered this barbarous punishment, of which he still preserves the painful traces.

Considering the exasperation of the inquisitors, it was highly probable that they would proceed to the last extremities against him who was the cause of it, or at least that they would leave him to perish in his painful imprisonment by a slow death. Thus, doubtless, it would have happened, if Providence had not favoured him with the means of escaping so miserable a fate. The prison in which he was confined is an edifice constructed in such a manner, that one man alone can guard it safely. The galleries and corridors are dark and difficult labyrinths, and all the passages terminate in the apartment of the jailer, through which it is unavoidably necessary to pass before arriving in the street. The person who filled this office at that time, lived in perfect security as to all the prisoners whom he guarded; — a security founded on his intimate knowledge of the local difficulties of the building. This man had in his service a little girl thirteen years old, who, moved by the curiosity of her sex

and age, or by a sentiment of compassion very natural to both, stole as often as she could to the little light-hole, or vent, the only aperture through which air was admitted to Vanhalen's dungeon. He soon found out that there was one being in the world who interested herself in his fate: he spoke to her, and entreated her assistance to alleviate his wretched situation. The young girl, anxious to serve the object of her protection as far as it was in her power, procured for him the means of writing a letter, and took it to the friend to whom it was directed. This was the commencement of a long correspondence with the masons of Madrid, and of a plan which was admirably formed for saving Vanhalen from the abyss in which he was buried. The difficulties of the attempt were enormous, but they all yielded to firmness and ingenuity. It was necessary for the prisoner to know the interior topography of the place, which he could not have sufficiently observed on the few occasions when he passed through it. This obstacle was got over by the minute instructions of his interesting confidante. It was also necessary for him to have some idea of the exterior localities, in order that he might know whither to direct his steps, in case he should succeed in reaching the street. His friends sent him a perfect plan of the environs of the building, and traced out the road which would lead him to those who were ready to accompany

and protect him. But the most important thing was to get out; which he could not do without opening several doors, and passing through the apartment in which the jailer lived with his family. This part of the plan, which was doubtless the most difficult, was fortunately facilitated by the jailer himself, who expressed a wish that Vanhalen should give him some lessons in French, a proposition which, it may be supposed, the prisoner accepted with unqualified delight. These lessons served only to inspire the pupil with greater security with respect to his master, and to give the latter time to combine with his friends all the details of the project, and to fix the day of its execution.

The manner of carrying it into execution was not less dexterous than daring. In the dusk of a winter's evening, Vanhalen and the jailer being engaged at lesson, the latter standing with his shoulders against the door, which remained open, the prisoner suddenly seized him, and threw him with violence on the bed. He immediately made his way out, turned the key in the dungeon door, traversed the corridors according to the instructions of the little girl, arrived at the jailer's apartment, causing great surprise, as may be supposed, to his wife and daughter, the only persons who happened to be there at the time, and who, instead of pursuing the fugitive, conceived that something must have happened to the jailer, and went to

look for him. Vanhalen in the mean time escaped into the street, where he found his friends in waiting. In a few months afterwards he was commanding a squadron of Russian troops in the skirts of the Caucasus.

As that indecision and distrust which form the foundations of Ferdinand's character, did not permit him to unite himself, for any length of time, with the same men, or to give his confidence exclusively to any one party, the different factions which contended in the interior of the palace for the possession of power, found themselves alternately exalted or depressed, according to the hopes or apprehensions of the monarch. Each instance of these oscillations produced a total, or almost a total, change in the administration. Hence it happened that, during the six years of which we treat, Ferdinand had more than thirty different ministers. Sometimes those who seemed most securely fixed in office, and most firmly supported by the Camarilla, suddenly disappeared: at other times, the principal departments were as suddenly seen in the hands of obscure men, the secret motive of whose elevation it was utterly impossible for the public to divine. Of this number was Don Juan Lozano de Torres, who, without having ever devoted himself to any of those studies which are supposed necessary to qualify a man for the direction of ecclesiastical and judicial affairs, and without any other experience than what he derived

from an insignificant employment in the finance department, was appointed Minister of Grace and Justice; that is to say, ruler of the church and the tribunals of Spain. This minister was one of those, too, who remained longest in office, and were most in Ferdinand's confidence. It would be impossible to describe the chaos which he introduced into all the branches of his ministry.

Involved as Spain was in such an abyss of ignorance and disorder, it need scarcely be added that the public interest lay in a state of the most complete abandonment. Nothing was done for the people; no impulse was given to any of the sources of national prosperity. Education, confined to the universities, was carried on upon the same plan as in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries; the modern sciences, and all useful studies, were shunned and persecuted; the perusal of the foreign journals was rigorously prohibited; the press was bowed down to the earth beneath the yoke of a previous censorship, which was exercised successively, and with respect to every publication without exception, by an inquisitor, and by a member of the Council of Castile. The channels of interior communication became more obstructed every day, by the dilapidated state of the roads, in consequence of the war. The expeditions to America, proscription, and pestilence, caused an immense diminution in the population. The complicated, tyrannical, and absurd system of finance, oppressed

and almost absorbed the fortunes of private individuals. The tribunals were the prostitutes of power; the ministers revoked judicial sentences at their pleasure, and created commissions for those causes in which they had any interest. Men of merit were obliged to seek refuge in obscurity and privacy, from the gaze of suspicion and the treachery of delation. Men of the greatest ignorance and baseness occupied all the public situations. The system of the revenue laws put an end to commerce, and encouraged smuggling to a vast extent; robbers crowded the public roads, whose audacity and strength arrived to such a pitch, that sometimes the government was obliged to enter into negotiations with them. In a word, "Spain," as the Abbé de Pradt has said, "did not belong to Europe—it was entirely African." It is not to be wondered at, if so many, and such powerful causes of corruption, deeply influenced the national character; and if, harassed as the country was by such a degrading yoke, it lost many of those generous qualities by which, in the earlier periods of its history, it was so proudly distinguished.

MEMOIRS OF FERDINAND VII.

ECCLESIASTICAL AFFAIRS.

THE examination of the causes which have contributed to consolidate and diffuse religious fanaticism, and to give it that persecuting and intolerant character which has shed so much blood in Spain, and has reduced it to its present intellectual inferiority, is one of the most fruitful sources of deep and important observation, which can be offered to an attentive observer. In all Catholic countries of Europe, acerbity of opinion has been mitigated by the progress of information, the increase of refinement, and the advancement of industry. The only exception to this rule is Spain, where the Inquisition had been preserved in all its rigour, and where every interest of society yielded to the influence of the priesthood and the confessional, and to the impulse of superstition. It is not foreign to our purpose to take a brief review of the causes which have produced these effects. We shall soon have to state the use that was made of religious opinions during the reign of Fer-

dinand, and it is therefore necessary to put the reader in possession of those relative circumstances, which preceded such strange and incredible events.

In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, Spain was not more backward than other European nations in the sciences, and those other branches of knowledge, which are comprehended under the general term of civilization. But a consuming gangrene took root in its bosom, which preyed upon it for many ages, and influenced almost every event, namely, a religious war, which covered the whole territory of Spain, and in which all classes of society took part. This war commenced in the mountains of Asturias, under the direction of Pelayo, and terminated in the mountains of Grenada, under the reign of Ferdinand and Isabella. During this extended period, it was necessary to take advantage of religious opinions, to inflame and exalt them to the highest degree of energy, in order to accomplish the great object in view—the expulsion of the Moors. This turn which was given to men's minds, produced that mass of intolerance, that violent spirit of persecution, and that horror of philosophical ideas, to which so great a part of the destinies of the nation is to be ascribed. The triumph of Ferdinand and Isabella aggravated the evil, instead of diminishing it, as these sovereigns placed themselves entirely in the hands of the clergy. The latter, under the pretext of guarding against the revival of infidelity,

and of preserving Christianity in all its purity, kept the people in their many errors, augmented the rigours of the Inquisition, and materially increased the number of conventual establishments, puerile devotions, unfounded opinions, and all those ostentatious ceremonies by which fanaticism is usually sustained.

It was not less encouraged under the succeeding reigns. Charles V. used every effort to recompense it, in Spain, for the losses which it suffered in Germany by the confession of Augsburgh. The clergy, in consequence, applied themselves with fresh ardour, and extended the sphere of their power. The reigns of the three Philips, the second, third, and fourth, and of Charles II, are celebrated in history for the humiliating decline into which the Spanish nation fell, oppressed as it was by the double yoke of a sanguinary despotism, and of a religious establishment*, disfigured by the most revolting errors, and corrupted by the most cruel and malignant passions. The first prince of the house of Bourbon who sat upon the throne of Spain, might have led the way to a signal revolution in public opinion, if he had brought with him from his grandfather's court

* The author wishes it to be understood that he does not question the religion of his country, considering it upon its own proper grounds. He only reprobates the artful additions which have been made to it by a worldly-minded priesthood for their own purposes.

that spirit of information and refinement, that excellent taste in the arts, and that urbanity of manners, which have shed so much lustre on the age of Louis XIV. But instead of these, Philip carried in his train only new elements of perversion. Ferdinand VI. and Charles III. were devotees in every sense of the word; and although Charles IV. reigned during an epoch when religious opinions were stripped of a great part of their fascination, yet it may be said, that, in his time, the great mass of the Spanish people preserved in all their strength the prejudices and feelings of the preceding age; and that those slight advances which were made in civilization, during the period when the Prince of the Peace was in favour, did not pass beyond the higher classes of society.

When events and passions had prepared the epoch of that general explosion in 1808, in such a manner as that it must unavoidably have occurred exactly as it did, it was impossible that religious ideas should not have taken some part in it. Besides that the Spanish people are habitually inclined to believe that every thing foreign is irreligious, incredulous, and heretical, the clergy, who saw their influence and their possessions menaced, placed themselves in the front of that reaction, and were undoubtedly the most powerful agents in stirring up the multitude. The general exasperation was increased by the excesses and robberies which the French committed in the churches and convents; and also, by the mea-

sures which Joseph's government adopted for reducing the clergy to their proper rank in society.

The assembly of the Cortes in Cadiz kindled also another kind of war, which the clergy felt themselves compelled to sustain, or forfeit the greater part of their wealth and influence. The developement of liberal ideas was the signal of this new contest; and the hostilities carried on, although short, because the restoration of the King put an end to them, were extremely violent. The suppression of the Inquisition drew forth the whole phalanx of monks and secular clergy; several bishops refused obedience to that measure; Cardinal Gravina, the Pope's nuncio to the Constitutional government, declared against it in such vehement terms, that it was necessary to send him out of the kingdom. Hence, when the King returned to Spain, the clergy presented themselves to him as the instruments of his preservation, to whom he owed his utmost gratitude; and they demanded, on one side, favours on account of their sacrifices; and on the other, vengeance against their enemies. The King, although neither credulous nor superstitious, gladly united his interests with those of such powerful allies; and his first measures of persecution were invested with a religious hue, which predicted new impediments to civilization, and new triumphs to ignorance.

Immediately after his arrival in Madrid, Ferdinand re-established the Inquisition; and his decree for that purpose was hailed throughout all Spain

with illuminations, thanksgivings, and other rejoicings. This tribunal, indeed, could no longer inflict the penalty of death; but this only diminution of its antient power still left a wide field for its vengeance and its rigour. Its dark proceedings, its arbitrary imprisonments, its interference in numberless delinquencies which had nothing to do with religion, were preserved in all their purity; and the men who were placed in the superintendence of its odious tribunals, lost no opportunity of availing themselves of such direful instruments.

The first thing which the Inquisition did, after its installation, was to publish enormous lists of prohibited books; amongst the names of which were included, under pain of the heaviest excommunication, *(latæ sententiæ,)* the Constitution of the Spanish Monarchy, the journals of the Cortes, and all the pamphlets and periodical papers written on matters purely political during the short reign of the Constitution in Cadiz. This was followed by the persecution of freemasonry, which, as we have already said, was carried on in concert with Eguia, the minister of war, and which was urged to such an excessive degree, that one of the inquisitors, the Canon Riesco, after having endeavoured in vain to mollify such dreadful severity, threw himself on his knees before the King, spoke with great energy against such an abuse of religion and power, and gave in his resignation as an

inquisitor, warning his Majesty, that the most formidable evils would occur both to him and the nation, if he did not prevent them by an immediate and adequate remedy.

At the same time, the clergy and the friars of the capital surrounded Ferdinand, and flattered him with fêtes, applauses, and presents. The triumph of religion, as it was called, and the restoration of the King to his dominions, were attributed exclusively to the secular and regular clergy. The ceremonies of the church, which were performed with the greatest splendour, were repeated every day, particularly in Madrid, where the royal family attended them, their persons, particularly that of the King, covered with little images, medals, scapularies, and other emblems of devotion. These festivities were usually followed by a magnificent banquet, at which the King permitted the clergy and friars to attend, and during which his Majesty displayed the most jocund familiarity, and the most inexhaustible good-humour. These assemblies seldom terminated until the prior of the convent, or the curate of the parish, presented a memorial soliciting some place for his nephew or his dependant. The favour was immediately granted, without the ministers' taking the least share in these nominations. It often occurred that the ministers, when transacting business with the King, presented to him a list of candidates for some vacant employment; and his Majesty, without

taking any notice of the persons proposed, mentioned the individual recommended at one of these religious orgies.

So fertile were these men in resources, that the prior of the convent of Atocha, in Madrid, proposed that his Majesty should grant him the power of creating a certain number of counts and marquisses. The permission being given, the prior sold these favours, so flattering to human vanity, at a very high price; and the convent derived considerable sums from this unexampled speculation.

Stimulated by such decided and powerful protection, the two orders of clergy assumed, in the state and in society, an ascendant which had no precedent in former reigns. The tithes being now regularly paid, the cathedrals recovered the losses which they sustained during the French invasion; and though the disappearance of the ornaments during that tempestuous period, formed a void in the splendour of the religious fêtes, the good living of the canons was not therefore impaired. The friars, in the mean while, lost no time in repairing the losses which they had suffered during the same period. The convents which were destroyed by the French were rebuilt with wonderful expedition; which shews how deeply rooted, even yet, are superstitious ideas in the minds of the Spanish people; as, in order to rouse the zeal of the contributors, recourse was had to pretended miracles and prophecies. Noviciates were open-

ed, and the bishops conferred holy orders in the most prodigal manner, so much so that in six months after Ferdinand's entry into Spain, more than six thousand individuals were separated from society, and devoted to the ecclesiastical state.

But what most essentially contributed to the consolidation of that power which the Church had just recovered, were the new relations which were established between the courts of Spain and Rome. Pius VII. upon his return to his states after the fall of Napoleon, made every exertion to get back all the sovereign power and moral influence of which that conqueror had deprived him. One of the first acts of his new reign was the re-establishment of the religious orders, which he looked upon as the strongest auxiliaries of his power; and this decree, which was profusely distributed throughout the country, augmented the triumph of the successful party. The next step was the renewal of those intimate relations with Spain which had formerly subsisted—a measure of the greatest importance to the Vatican, as in consequence of the propagation of the ultramontane doctrines in the Peninsula, and of the general ignorance of the people, there is no other Catholic country, not excepting even Italy, which sends such immense sums as Spain to the treasury of St. Peter. There were numberless acts indifferent in themselves, or restrained only by the Ecclesiastical laws, which could not be done without paying

a pecuniary tribute to the court of Rome. The secularization of a friar, or a nun; the marriage of relatives; permission to have a chapel in one's house, or for a clergyman whose head was bald to wear a wig; and many other similar trifling matters, required the pontifical sanction. As the exercise of this power had been suspended during the reign of Napoleon, there was at his fall a great number of Spaniards who wanted the Papal benediction for some of those acts which we have mentioned. These persons were so anxious to have recourse to the head of the church, and to exchange their gold for parchment, that in the first year of Ferdinand's reign, more than three millions of dollars were drawn by Rome from Spain, and these out of the purses of private individuals, without estimating the amount of the annual contribution paid by government, which, according to the example of former reigns, began to be remitted with scrupulous exactness after the return of the King.

Cardinal Gonsalvi, minister of state to Pius VII, was presented by Ferdinand with a prebendary's stall in the cathedral of Seville, which was then worth eight thousand dollars a-year.

His Holiness's nuncio at the court of Madrid at the period of the French invasion, was M. Gravina, a cardinal and archbishop of Palermo. Having retired with the government to Cadiz, he placed himself at the head of the clergy of that

city: he was exceedingly fanatical and intolerant, and from the moment that liberal ideas began to appear in the Cortes and amongst the people, he declared an open and an obstinate war against them. The abolition of the Inquisition inflamed his zeal to such a degree of exasperation, that he expressed himself in the most imprudent terms. The Cortes commanded the decree of the abolition of that tribunal of the faith, to be read publicly in all the churches. Some bishops refused obedience to this order, and Gravina enjoined them to resist it. The Constitutional government, as well upon this account as for many other proofs which the nuncio had given of his opposition to the prevailing ideas, and to the new order of things, which was already recognized by several sovereigns of Europe, sent him out of the kingdom. Gravina took refuge in Portugal, whence he kept up an active correspondence with the heads of the servile party, and directed all the intrigues which that sect carried on. Upon the return of the King, Gravina presented himself to his Majesty, and under the double character of the representative of the Pontifical court, and a victim of the liberal party, he obtained great influence over Ferdinand's mind. He took advantage of this in order to avenge his own grievances, and to aggravate the persecution that was fulminated against the vanquished. He was upon a footing of familiarity with the King, and he

made every use of it in order to satiate his vindictive spirit, which rose to such a height that he laid several lists of proscriptions before his Majesty, which were immediately sanctioned and acted upon.

Only one step farther was necessary to crown the triumph of what was then called religion—the establishment of the Jesuits; an enterprise of the greatest importance for the party, but which presented great and formidable obstacles.

The Jesuits, who were suppressed by Charles III, had been possessed of immense property, which was sold for the benefit of the state. Their churches were converted to different uses, all however of an ecclesiastical and religious character. In one of those, which had belonged to them in Madrid, called the church of St. Ysidro, a chapter of canons was established, who professed the doctrines of the Jansenists, joined to an exemplary purity of morals. The convent annexed to this church was converted into an academy, and was one of the best regulated of those establishments in Spain. A public library was attached to it, which was as extensive as it was well selected. In the provinces, the interests which succeeded to those of the extinct society, were not less delicate or important—circumstances which all formed so many obstacles to its revival. Nevertheless the court of Rome put several powerful springs in motion; and the project having been laid before the

King, he named a committee of bishops and magistrates, and directed them to examine the plan, and to give him their opinion upon it. The committee approved of it without any alteration, and it was passed to the council of Castile, in which body there was only one vote in its favour. It is worthy of remark, that the person who gave that vote, and who most distinguished himself on that occasion, was Gutierrez de la Huerta, the fiscal of the council, a man notorious for his irreligious life, and who, as a deputy to Cortes, had carried his liberal opinions to the highest pitch, until he sold himself to the opposite party, and raised himself by his retractations to that exalted situation, one of the most important offices in the magistracy of Spain.

The re-establishment of the Jesuits, and the restitution of all the property which had ever belonged to them, were at length decreed; and the same committee, to which the examination of both these propositions had been referred, were directed to carry them into execution. Very few still remained of the Jesuits who had been expelled from the kingdom by Charles III, and these had spent the intervening time in Italy, and were now far advanced in age. This small colony of sexagenarians being collected together, came to Spain to take possession of an immense mass of wealth, and to resuscitate a society, with which the existing generation had not the remotest ac-

quaintance. Not being able to disseminate themselves at once throughout the Peninsula, they assembled in Madrid, where they were immediately installed in their magnificent church of St. Ysidro, the event being solemnized as a victory obtained against the disciples of the Bishop of Ypres. They also took possession of the Academy, in which the professorships of chemistry and natural philosophy were suppressed, as being inconsistent with the Catholic doctrines. Such of the other professorships as tended to diffuse information and liberal taste, were also dispensed with. Not one of the Jesuits who had come from Italy, could take charge of any part of the public education, so profound was their ignorance.

In the mean time, they exerted themselves in the important task of augmenting their numbers, and making proselytes. In order to attain this object, they organized noviciates, in which, contrary to the practice of other religious communities, the young candidates, instead of having to endure mortifications, painful duties, and incessant application to study, were continually surrounded with enjoyments and comforts, and treated with the greatest mildness and indulgence. Their usual dinner was upon a scale fully equal to that which the best-furnished tables of Spain could present, and the new pupils were frequently permitted to spend whole days at the country-house of the order, near Madrid, where they gave them-

selves up to that effervescence of spirit natural to their time of life, and to pleasures which were scarcely compatible with the duties of a religious profession.

The noviciate was soon filled up by robust youths. More than ninety were assembled together; but neither the seductions by which they were environed, nor the hopes of ascendancy which were held out, could confirm in them the jesuitical vocation. Upwards of sixty novices fled in one day from the establishment of St. Ysidro; and after that no more candidates sought for admission. On the other hand, the Jesuits who came from Italy never obtained the least popularity. Their long absence made them forget the language and customs of the country. Spaniards could not familiarize themselves to a religious order, whose members were accustomed to eat maccaroni and drink sherbet. The few sermons which they preached, served to discredit them more and more by making their congregations laugh at their strange phrases and the novelty of their style. They made every effort to introduce themselves into the higher classes of society, but without success. Thus, this victory gained by fanaticism against the intellectual progress of the age, redounded only to the advantage of a few individuals. Men's minds, in general, received no impression from it, nor was public opinion affected by it in any respect.

Other means much more efficacious were resorted to by the servile party, for the purpose of convincing the world of their triumph. Amongst these may be enumerated the magnificent rewards which were given to all the ecclesiastics, secular and regular, who from the period of the installation of the Cortes to its destruction, had distinguished themselves by their zeal in opposing and vituperating it. The best bishopricks, the canonships, the seats in the Council of State, the most honourable decorations, and the largest pensions, were the compensations for such services. The whole nation was scandalized at seeing the mitre of Ceuta conferred on Velez, a Capuchin friar, a man of the most depraved morals, merely because, under the title of *An Apology for the Altar and Throne*, he published a long series of calumnies against the liberals, accusing them of republicanism, atheism, and impiety, and of all sorts of vices and disorders. Another vociferator, of a character not a whit less odious, named Martinez, whose writings breathed the most atrocious spirit, and the fiercest madness of revenge, was appointed preacher to the King, and member of the supreme tribunal of the Inquisition. In addition to all this, the clerical deputies who had warmly espoused the servile party in the Cortes, and who had signed the famous address of the *Persians*, were appointed to the principal bishopricks of Spain.

Protected and favoured thus openly by the

power of government, aggrandized upon the ruins of their enemies, and complete masters of the minds of the great mass of the people, the clergy acquired an unbounded influence in all judicial, administrative, and political affairs. They placed themselves at the head of society. They monopolized all the public honours and wealth, and intimately linked their existence with that of the throne of Ferdinand. The confessional and the pulpit, those two great sources of influence, were turned into powerful instruments. By means of one they penetrated into the secrets of families, and by the agency of the other they sowed discord in them. It was laid down as a sacred duty, that the son should inform against his father, the wife against her husband, the brother against his brother, the friend against his friend, who professed liberal opinions, read prohibited books, or attended meetings of freemasons. Thus from the pulpit itself were propagated doctrines which directly violated the spirit of the Gospel. The most shameful prejudices were fomented and encouraged; a holy horror was inculcated against all sorts of innovations, political or scientific, it being held that they were incompatible with religion, and tended to relaxation of morals and to atheism.

Elevated, however, as their station was, the clergy did not, therefore, attain that dignity of manners and habits which the privileged classes usually affect. There never was observed in them

a greater degree of ignorance and of meanness; never was their conduct less decorous. Hence a consequence resulted which was favourable to the cause of civilization. The clergy and the friars mixed entirely with the lowest classes of society, which are more numerous in Spain than in any other country of Europe. The higher orders of persons, distinguished by their rank, education, or profession, affected on the contrary to ridicule and despise the clergy, and never received them in their private circles. Although during the six years of Ferdinand's absolute reign, the great mass of the nation degenerated into an ignominious state of debasement and ignorance; the light of civilization, which had already made such progress in other parts of Europe, was thus cherished amongst the higher ranks in Spain. The prohibited books were circulated amongst them with the greatest facility, in spite of threats and anathemas; and the foreign journals, which were also proscribed, were eagerly read, not only in Madrid, but in the provinces. Even in the centre of the King's palace, courses of lectures were given on chemistry, which were founded by the Infante Don Antonio. The system also of mutual instruction was put in practice by a society of grandees, who protected and encouraged it with an attention and zeal worthy of the greatest praise.

Unhappily, however, the mass of society scarcely felt the effects of these laudable exertions. The

influence of the opposite party made a deep impression upon the body of the people; and it is scarcely credible to what an extent all those evils were augmented, which are so easily produced in a country where religion is converted by fanatics into an instrument for forwarding their designs, and gratifying their passions. The population was diminished in proportion as the convents were filled with men who conferred no benefit on society; the useful professions were neglected for the advantages which were held out by the ecclesiastical condition. The lower classes became every day more and more ignorant; and without enjoying any of the benefits which might accrue to society from the practice of the doctrines of a pure faith, Spain experienced all those evils which flow from fanaticism and superstition.

MEMOIRS OF FERDINAND VII.

FINANCES.

Of all the establishments which existed in Spain, previous to 1808, none presented a greater accumulation of errors and abuses, or more abundant traces of Gothicism and ignorance, than that which, under the general appellation of the finance department, comprehended the different branches of the assessment and collection of the taxes, and the management of the public wealth. The intestine wars which had desolated the Peninsula for so many ages; the difference of laws, customs, and manners, in the various provinces; the want of a national representation founded on positive enactments, and invested with rights legally acknowledged; the insatiable necessities of the court; the imperfect and unequal distribution of property; an ignorance of the first principles of the science of political economy; and, perhaps, more than all, the corruption of the public officers, contributed, in a greater or less degree, to keep Spain behind

all other nations in such a delicate and important part of the social system. The contributions which were levied on Spaniards in the time of Charles IV. were drawn from the same sources as those which existed in the reign of Charles V, the Philips, and their successors, but they were increased in proportion as the necessities of the state demanded, without any other consideration being attended to than that of meeting the exigency of the occasion. The assessment of these charges could not have been otherwise than arbitrary and unjust, because they were founded on no invariable law, no certain principle, nor rational foundation. They were imposed in a tyrannical manner, as the necessities of an absolute government are imperative, and its means of satisfying them unbounded. The application of the products of the taxes was as irregular as the mode of levying them; and instead of being rendered available to the service of the state, they served only to enrich its enemies and oppressors. Thus Spain, with a fertile soil, a genial climate, full of natural productions as diversified and abundant as they are useful and valuable—Spain, whose inhabitants sacrificed the greater part of their wealth to the public treasury, was found, at the period just alluded to, without money or credit, overwhelmed by an immense debt, a burthen which, instead of lessening, she was every day obliged more and more to augment.

During the war of Independence, it may be said

that Spain had no public treasury. The provinces paid the contributions which the conquerors and the conquered imposed upon them by military law; and the government which defended Ferdinand's cause, received large sums of money from America, with which it met the most pressing necessities of the time. On the other hand, the government of Joseph exacted whatever it could force from the provinces under his rule, which became at length so exhausted, that the imperial treasury at Paris was obliged to advance money for the support of Joseph's court, and for the payment of the persons employed in his service.

The Cortes, during their short-lived existence, had neither time nor opportunity to apply themselves effectually to the improvement of this branch of the public institutions. Indeed, even if they had found such an opportunity, it is probable that they would not have made much use of it; and this, on account of the want of public men adequate to such a difficult task. And here it may be useful to allude to the principal cause of the scarcity of financiers and economists in Spain, as well as of that indifferent attention which all the successive governments that have ruled in that country, have paid to the definitive regulation of the collection and application of the contributions.

Of all the people of Europe, none have fewer physical wants than the inhabitants of Spain. Na-

turally abstemious, constitutionally vigorous and robust, blessed with a benignant climate, and a friendly soil, whose produce contains much nourishment within a small compass, the Spaniard wants but little to sustain life, and he lives pleasantly without any of those precautions, conveniences, and safeguards, which severity of climate, the progress of luxury, and the refinement of ideas, have rendered indispensable in other countries.

Hence it happens that, in Spain, the endurance of privations gives no trouble; and consequently the cause which produces them does not exasperate men's minds so fiercely, nor excites such serious discontent, as it might do amongst other communities. The individuals engaged in the public service, maintain themselves for months and years, without receiving a fraction of their salaries, and without breathing the slightest murmur. Whole regiments live solely on the rations, and yet do not desert their standards. This spirit of patience produces supineness amongst those in authority; and, as the danger is neither immediate nor important, they make no effort to remove it. Thus are perpetuated those evils of every sort, which are the inseparable companions of poverty and indifference.

Ferdinand, on his return, displayed no ideas, nor principles, calculated to put an end to such a calamity. The nation had supported all the burthen of a desolating war; but, notwithstanding this,

her resources were not even yet exhausted. The French troops had left a great deal of money diffused amongst the industrious classes. The vicissitudes of political affairs had caused considerable changes of property from one individual to another. Besides this, the great influx of foreigners into several towns, the trade to which they gave rise, the varied succession of public occurrences, and the infusion of liberal ideas, had awakened a certain spirit of industry, in consequence of which establishments were created, capital laid out, and many hands engaged. The result was, that, notwithstanding the derangement caused by Ferdinand in the political regulation of the kingdom, the elements of public prosperity which still remained, would have been found sufficiently productive, if they had not been placed in the hands of ignorant and avaricious men. The only object which seemed to occupy earnest attention in the finance department, after the return of the King, was that of getting as much money as possible, by every means which could be put in practice. Disorder thus followed disorder; the anarchy of political affairs was augmented by that which prevailed in the finances; and fresh weight was added to the yoke which oppressed unhappy Spain.

It is not our purpose to enter into an enumeration of the financial measures adopted by Ferdinand's government. Such a task were impossible

to be executed; because no clue exists which might guide one out of the dark and intricate labyrinth in which all the branches of public administration were then involved. Even if the task were practicable, its performance would be uninteresting to the reader, as it would consist only of a long series of decrees, regulations, explanations, revocations, and little details, the offspring of circumstances, and most frequently dictated by ignorance and necessity. We shall confine ourselves, therefore, to some characteristic circumstances appertaining to the finance department in that unfortunate period, as being essential features of the physiognomical sketch, if we may be allowed the expression, which we are tracing.

The first finance ministers who were appointed by Ferdinand after his return, thought only of meeting the exigencies of the moment, without paying any attention to debts already incurred, without making any provision for future necessities. The contributions, which were mostly of an indirect nature, were collected under the direction of intendants, of whom there was one in each province. The authority of these officers was unlimited; and although there was a finance board for the purpose of hearing appeals, yet, as this body consisted of men entirely dependent on government, it seldom decided in favour of the appellants, when the latter, as usually was the case, contended against the interests of the treasury.

Amongst the means resorted to for extracting every thing possible from the people, there was one which deserves particular mention, on account of its odious and tyrannical character. Certain articles of prime necessity, and which were therefore deemed particularly fit to be subjected to excessive taxation, were fixed upon; and in these a monopoly was given, either to an individual or a company: the person or persons thus favoured, acquired, in consequence, an exclusive authority to sell that particular article in a stated place, and all other individuals were deprived of the right of pursuing that branch of business. The result was, that the industrious inhabitant of the place could not sell there the produce of his land, without paying an exorbitant contribution to a stranger, from whom it was necessary for him to obtain the requisite permission. Thus it happened that the word contraband, in all other countries of Europe applied to foreign articles the importation of which is prohibited, was used in Spain as descriptive of the most common and indispensable productions of the earth. Wine was contraband in Xeres; and a system of customs was formed for impeding its introduction, with as much rigour as that which Napoleon established in France for prohibiting the importation of the cotton manufactures of England.

These manufactures were the particular objects of hatred and severity, amongst the ministers of

Ferdinand, beyond all other articles which were proscribed by the barbarous system of the Spanish customs. In vain it was continually represented to those in authority, that the lower classes, particularly those on the provincial coasts, could not live absolutely without the manufactures in question. In vain it was proved to them, that all Spain was clad in English cottons, in spite of the custom laws and the presidios; although the traffic in contraband goods had been carried on to an unprecedented extent, and with the most scandalous publicity, still nothing could open the eyes of those deluded men, or induce them to modify their system. A desire to protect the manufactures of Catalonia was the motive, or the pretext, for these barbarous regulations; and, as if events were shaped for the purpose of giving them an irresistible lesson, it appeared that the Catalans, whose cotton manufactures the restrictive laws were framed to protect, were abandoning by degrees that branch of industry, and applying themselves to the manufacture of cloths—and this, too, at a time when the importation of foreign cloths was permitted, upon the payment of a trivial duty.

The Biscayan provinces, which as yet preserved several of their ancient privileges, obtained some relaxation of the restrictive system, particularly with respect to British cottons. But in return for this favour, the city of Bilbao had for its director a man as ferocious and barbarous as he was ava-

ricious; who, for a long time, was the bane of commerce in that industrious and interesting country. This man was General Lanza. During the war of independence, he had left the lowest ranks of society, in order to place himself at the head of a guerilla, in which he distinguished himself by his boldness and dexterity in intercepting convoys. His hatred against the constitutional system, which was expressed with all the brutal grossness of a man destitute of education, gained for him the countenance of Ferdinand's favourites; and in a short time he obtained the office just mentioned, which he proposed to himself to explore as a mine fruitful of riches. His principal plan was to persecute the smugglers; under pretence of which, he frequently seized the property of the inhabitants, and the foreign merchandize legally imported, knowing that he might depend for a favourable decision on the tribunal before which the matter might be brought, and on the King himself, who afforded him unqualified protection. After having ruined several respectable mercantile establishments in Bilbao, he endeavoured to destroy an English house; affecting to believe that some contraband goods from Manchester were lodged in its warehouses, he condemned them, seized every thing which they contained, not excepting the goods which were acknowledged as legitimate, and which had paid the regular duties; he sold all by public auction, and

obtained the sanction of the judicial authority, which was entirely at his command, for such iniquitous proceedings. The English proprietor lost no time in appealing to the tribunals of the capital, and to the ministry; and also got the British ambassador, and the consul-general, to make energetic representations against Lanza. As it happened, at the same time, that a great number of memorials had been sent to the King, by the commercial men of Bilbao, against that officer, it was expected that some vigorous resolution would have been taken with regard to a person who had so scandalously mocked public opinion, the national honour, and the rights of nations. It seemed as if even his patrons were so dismayed, as to have abandoned him to the punishment which his misconduct deserved. But Lanza gave a turn to the affair which saved him, and enabled him to laugh at his enemies. He suddenly proceeded to Madrid, and demanded and obtained a private audience of the King. During the interview he presented to his Majesty two thousand ounces of gold, and was forthwith absolved of all his faults. He returned in triumph to Bilbao, and continued to practise his tyranny and to augment his fortune.

Abuses of this description were quite common in all the branches of administration. The only object being to gain money, no scruples were felt as to the means; and the want of that article was

in proportion to the extravagant expenditure of the palace, to the rapacity of the party which governed the King, and to the necessity of filling with gold the hands of those individuals who presented themselves at court as victims of their attachment to the person of the sovereign.

The consequence was, that contracts of the most sacred nature were openly violated; obligations the most imperative were despised; and the public misery was laughed at, while the authorities gratified that thirst for gold by which they were actuated. The treasury at Madrid paid nobody except the garrison and the royal guard; and this only to avoid the perils of discontent and mutiny. All the rest of the funds went into the treasury of the palace. In addition to these, the different public establishments in the capital—such as the post-office, the lottery-office, and that of the public credit *—transmitted also their balances, which were very considerable, to the palace. Seeing that this was not sufficient, the particular funds of the provinces, which were destined for the payment of the army and the public functionaries,

* During the six years of Ferdinand's absolute reign, the funds of the public credit consisted of the property of religious foundations, which, though ordered for sale, were not disposed of in the reign of Charles IV.; of the lead-mines on the coast of Grenada; of the quicksilver-mines of Almaden, and various other effects.

were laid hold of; and the intendants had scarcely time to receive any considerable funds, when they encountered a bill of exchange from Madrid for the expenses of the palace. Yet these extraordinary aids were found insufficient, and recourse was had to the national bank of San Carlos, and to the house of the Five Companies of Madrid, which, together with the Philippine Company, were continually sending carts laden with money to the palace.*

Nevertheless, the royal palace of Madrid displayed none of that splendour and magnificence with which the other sovereigns of Europe were surrounded. Indeed, the disorder that prevailed in it, the wanton waste and the cupidity of the numberless favourites who succeeded every day to the gracious smiles of Ferdinand, would have been sufficient to exhaust the mines of Peru. The court was extravagant, without being either brilliant or imposing; and those who had the management of the different branches of the expenditure, enriched themselves in the most scandalous man-

* The Bank of San Carlos, and the house of the Five Companies, were two commercial establishments in Madrid, which were founded in the time of Charles III., upon a very sound and ingenious plan. There was, however, no possibility of their prospering, owing to the dishonesty and rapacity of those who governed Spain. The absolute reign of Ferdinand completed the ruin of these two institutions.

ner. It was known that Ferdinand frequently gave munificent orders, merely for the purpose of putting money into the pockets of those persons through whom they were to be executed. Several millions of dollars were laid out on the gardens of the Retiro, on fountains, Chinese works, artificial mountains, Indian pagodas, imitations of Indian obelisks, and similar other frivolous suggestions of a vitiated taste; at the same moment that persons were employed in fitting up the saloons of the different palaces, which Ferdinand possessed in Madrid and its vicinity, with costly furniture, tapestry, lustres, and other articles of luxurious refinement, that came continually from Paris, where he had an agent engaged for this special purpose. The direction of all this expenditure was committed to Don Isidro Montenegro, groom of the bedchamber, and a favourite of the King, who lived in oriental luxury, and who provided for all his family high and lucrative situations.

This disorder at length arrived to such a pitch, that even the arms of absolute power were not strong enough to restrain it; and new finance ministers succeeded each other with rapidity, without one appearing capable of rooting out an evil which went on increasing with such frightful strides. The consequences of such extravagance were felt by all classes of the state; and even the courtiers themselves began to fear that a period

might arrive when both they and their royal master would be in want of funds to sustain such immense expenditure.

In such a conjuncture, intrigue yielded to necessity; and, for the first time since his return, Ferdinand searched out for a man endowed with the necessary qualifications for discharging such a critical and important office as the ministry of finance was particularly at that time. His choice fell on Don Martin Garay, a man not without information, who enjoyed a high reputation for probity, and who, in the different employments which he had filled, had displayed great zeal for the public interests. He was, besides, initiated in the principles of political economy, with which those imbecile men, who had hitherto directed the helm of the state, were totally unacquainted.

Garay accepted the appointment, under the firm conviction that there was only one great fundamental measure, requiring some boldness in its execution, which could save the nation from the evils with which it was threatened. From the moment of his installation into office, he laboured strenuously in order to attain his object. His opinions were in favour of a direct contribution, which had been hitherto the great point of dispute amongst the Spanish economists. The difficulties which would oppose the effectuation of this measure were immense, but he was not therefore dis-

mayed. He was indefatigable in collecting all the statistical data which could be ascertained; and upon these, after having consulted several persons of information, he formed a plan of contributions, which, if it cannot be considered a perfect work, was at least many degrees higher in the scale of excellence than the system which previously prevailed. There were many who looked upon it as calculated to lead to a happier epoch, and as an important step in the course of economical reform.

The publication of this plan was hailed with the greatest enthusiasm by those who were desirous of amelioration, to whatever extent it proceeded; but, at the same time, it brought down upon Garay the hatred of the Camarilla, and of the ministers dependent upon it. The obstacles, in consequence, against which Garay's plan had to contend, were found to be insuperable. Ultimately the ministers Lozano and Eguia decided on the fall of a man, who was dangerous solely because he was anxious to introduce reformation and order into the public finances; and the decree for his dismissal, and for that of Pizarro, who was then minister of state, and a particular friend of Garay, was signed by the King, and immediately put into execution.

After this event the disorder of the finances increased, and the state at length became literally insolvent. In truth, if the absolute rule of Ferdi-

nand had not yielded to the spirit of independence which broke forth in Spain, in consequence of the insurrection at the Cabezas, the wretched state of the treasury would of itself have been sufficient to overthrow it, or would have produced an explosion not less general and decisive than that of the 1st of January, 1820.

MEMOIRS OF FERDINAND VII.

WAR AND MARINE.

ALTHOUGH the war which was carried on by Spain, for the expulsion of the invaders, was generally popular, yet the acts of hostility which were committed against them proceeded more from a thirst of vengeance, and the impulse of patriotism, than from regular and extended combinations executed by disciplined troops. Nevertheless, when Ferdinand returned, some regiments were in existence properly organized, who merited the name of an army as well from their numbers as from their discipline and valour, which had been proved on many brilliant occasions. Constitutional ideas had not as yet made any considerable way amongst them; they had been accustomed to fight for Ferdinand and national independence, and if they conceived a vague wish for political reform, it was only so far as it was connected with those two great objects. Hence, as soon as they beheld Ferdinand once more on the frontiers, without making any difference between a despotic and a constitutional King they hailed him with enthu-

siasm, pulled down the constitutional stone before his eyes, and thus gave him to understand, by the most unequivocal demonstrations of loyalty, that he might depend on them for supporting his political system, whatever it might be. One of the principal divisions of the army was then under the command of Elio, in Valencia; and obedient to the impulse which it received from him, it warmly espoused his opinions, and declared openly against the Constitutional system.

Count Abisbal's conduct on that occasion deserves particular mention. He was then in command of a respectable division of the army, the only one, perhaps, in which some symptoms of liberal ideas appeared. Upon hearing of the King's entry into Spain, but not knowing what side his Majesty might take between the two parties into which the country was then divided, he sent a colonel, an officer in whom he reposed the greatest confidence, with orders to follow the King wherever he should be, and to deliver to him one of two letters of which he was the bearer, according to the party which his Majesty would in the mean time have approved. If the King declared for the Constitution, the letter which was to be delivered to him in that case contained the greatest eulogiums on that political code, and the most pompous offers of assisting in its consolidation. In the event of the King deciding against that system, a totally different letter was to be

presented to him, in which the Count inveighed in the strongest terms against the dangerous innovations of the liberals, and offered to place himself and his army at the disposal of his Majesty, in order to put down an order of things which was so incompatible with the interests of the realm, and to re-establish the sovereign in the firm and free exercise of the ancient and inalienable rights of the throne.

The Colonel, not less adroit than his commanding officer, discharged his commission with the utmost exactness; delivered the second letter, and was handsomely rewarded for the zeal which he manifested at such a critical juncture.

The general disposition of the army in favour of the absolute King, and the long series of glorious actions in which it had taken part, in order to rescue him from his captivity, gave them indisputable claims to his attention. Hence the first military measures of his new government were but so many public demonstrations of his gratitude, expressed in the most pompous terms, and accompanied by the most magnificent and flattering promises. It was proposed that the army should be completely re-organized: a board of general officers was formed for this sole purpose; a decree was issued, authorizing the construction of an hospital for soldiers who had been disabled in the service, and its splendour was not to be surpassed by that of the famous Hospital of Invalids at Paris.

In the mean time, the King received the military men in the most gracious manner, bestowing on them pensions, decorations, and promotions; but always observing, however, a marked distinction between those who had remained faithful to the principles of the ancient monarchy, and those who had approved the modern innovations. The latter were not well received, much less honoured with grace and favour.

But before many months elapsed, the whole army began to feel the effects of an absolute government, carried on by fanatic and malignant men. Instead of the rewards which were promised, the most absurd ordinances were showered down on the army, dictated by a spirit of intolerance, and calculated to convert men, who had just covered themselves with so much glory, into effeminate slaves, or mere devotees. It was ordered that those marches and sounds of the trumpet, which were associated with their latest triumphs, should be discontinued in the regiments; that they should all join in the rosary every night*; and that the bands of music should not assist, as had been usual, at the military mass. Added to all this, a system of espionage was established in the army,

* If Ferdinand had succeeded in rendering his army truly devoted to religion, it would not have been a measure, in my opinion, deserving of the censure which is here cast upon it. The finest scene in Tasso is that of the Christian army assembled in prayer on the Mount of Olives.—*Translator.*

which exasperated every man of honour, disgusting the private soldiers down even to the drummers.

The young and valiant officers, who had distinguished themselves in the last campaign, were suffered to remain neglected in the most obscure provinces; while men appeared at the head of their regiments who were entirely unknown, who had taken no part in the late struggle, and who entirely owed their sudden elevation to intrigue, servility of conduct, or indiscriminate favour.

General Mina, who, from the promulgation of the Constitution, proved himself the most resolute defender of its principles, had attentively observed the march of the public mind, and the proceedings of Ferdinand since his return to the territory of Spain. He received the exterminating decree of Valencia whilst he was in Navarre, at the head of a brilliant army. Full of exasperation, he immediately wrote to all the general officers of the different regiments under his command, proposing to them a plan of resistance to that odious measure, and pledging himself for its success, if they would all cordially unite for the achievement of so noble an object. The failure of this experiment persuaded him that the army which might save Spain was about to become the principal instrument of its ruin. But when the vexatious absurdities of Ferdinand's government became so great as to irritate even those who had contributed to support it, then Mina thought that he had ele-

ments at hand sufficiently powerful to encourage him to unfurl the standard of revolt. Master of the army of Navarre, although he had been officially divested of his command, he placed himself in communication with the greater part of the regiments which composed it, and drew out a plan for an extended operation, the first step of which would be to take possession of the fortress of Pampeluna. The object of this movement was to obtain a central point of support, which might be rapidly connected with the different ramifications that would be formed, in proportion as the spirit of discontent would be increased throughout the army.

This plan was frustrated by the vigilance of the opposite party, the influence of the clergy and friars, and the dexterity of the Count de Espeleta, captain-general of Navarre. Mina escaped from the dangers that threatened him, and fled to France, where he experienced a favourable reception from the government.

Another attempt was made by the Empecinado to put an end to the evils by which his country was afflicted, and to awaken Ferdinand from the lethargy in which he was sunk. He addressed to his Majesty a short but vehement and luminous remonstrance, full of severe truths, and dictated by the most noble and disinterested patriotism. He set out with stating, that those sovereigns who had earned the most lasting titles to the gratitude of

mankind, were those who had lent an attentive ear to the grievances of their subjects, with a disposition to remove them. It was believed that his Majesty was animated by such intentions, and that therefore he would listen to such complaints as were addressed to him with the view of applying a remedy to the abuses of his government. His Majesty was now placed in the hands of those very men who had co-operated in the oppressions of Godoy, and who, instead of unsheathing their swords in the late war, remained tranquilly looking on at the progress of events, while thousands of their countrymen perished for their love of independence. He (the Empecinado) did not, for his part, entertain any party views; nor did he mean to censure the serviles on one hand, or to vindicate the liberals on the other. His great object was to impress the King's mind with the necessity of a general amnesty, more especially called for, as the division of the country into parties was the inevitable result of the circumstances in which it had been placed. He then proceeded to give the form of a proclamation which it would be expedient for his Majesty to address to his subjects; and urged that those who counselled his Majesty to pursue the opposite course, had succeeded only in separating from his rule the colonies of South America, whose population, exasperated by persecution, was resolved to go to the last extremities

of desperation, if necessary, rather than surrender their liberties. If his Majesty would deign to cast an eye on the frightful chaos which the finances presented, he would find it a more intricate labyrinth than that of Crete. It was necessary that his Majesty should convene the Cortes, in pursuance of the solemn promise which he had given to the nation, inasmuch as it was the only means of restoring credit and confidence to the state. It was impossible not to remark that the conduct of the clergy had been scandalously ungrateful towards a people, who had so effectually supported and defended their interests, when threatened with ruin by the domination of France. The provinces were vexed by judicial processes; there was no longer any justice in Spain, for it had yielded entirely to arbitrary forms and relentless persecutions. The laws were violated, while calumny and espionage were rewarded and acted upon. To such a degree had these abuses arrived, that any man who was disposed to ruin a relative, a friend, or a neighbour, had nothing more to do than to proceed to the house of a judge, and accuse the object of his hatred of an imaginary crime. The accused was forthwith conducted to prison, and deprived of all communication with his family; and when, after several months of suffering, his innocence came out only more purified, like gold from a crucible, the accuser had no punish-

ment to fear; nay, perhaps, on the contrary, he was rewarded by government with a lucrative situation.

This bold picture of the evils which desolated Spain was profusely distributed amongst the public. The Empecinado remained in Madrid some time after, in presence of the anger of his enemies; and when it appeared convenient, he retired to an estate which he had purchased, where he devoted himself to the cultivation of the land with his own hands, living like the simplest husbandman, and satisfied, after all his eminent services, with having fulfilled his duty in such a noble and distinguished manner.

Although this lesson must have appeared severe in the eyes of Ferdinand and his advisers, and although the applause with which the Empecinado's remonstrance was received by the public, palpably proved the existence of a great mass of discontent, still there was no relaxation in the system under which the army suffered. The disorder of the treasury pressed more heavily on the military men than upon any other class of officers in the state; so much so, that arrears of pay to a shameful amount were due to them, and even to the private soldiers. The contractors for the rations seeing that the stipulations entered into with them were not fulfilled, very frequently suspended their supplies; and in consequence the colonels of regiments, and the governors of garrisons, were

often obliged to implore the assistance of the rich inhabitants, to save the troops from being materially diminished by hunger. It happened more than once, that the soldiers have taken up arms and attacked private houses, in order to obtain something to eat. In some garrison towns, and particularly in Ceuta, the soldiers were reduced to such a state of nakedness, that, for the sake of public decency, they were prohibited from going into the streets; and several of them would have died from the inclemency of the season, if the idea had not been adopted of keeping them warm in the ovens in which bread was baked.

In proportion as these evils became more general, and the hope receded of seeing them corrected at their fountain-head, hatred towards the King and his government spread itself rapidly through the army. Those who had distinguished themselves in the war of independence, and who had ascended to the highest military rank, began to fix the attention and the hopes of the discontented. Morillo, who was appointed commander-in-chief of an army of ten thousand men, destined for putting down the revolution of Costa Firma, attracted general observation. His troops were exceedingly dissatisfied; several of the regiments were meanly deceived, and conducted under false pretences to the place of embarkation. Others could not be got on board without being first disarmed; and their hatred against the colonial war, joined

to their fear of the dangers of a long voyage, and of an unwholesome climate, took such possession of their minds, that they would all to a man have consented, and have given themselves up, to any enterprize, however arduous it was, provided that they might thus escape the expedition.

As the malcontents, who assumed the appellation of liberals, and who aspired to the re-establishment of the Constitution of 1812, had organized a secret society whose ramifications extended throughout Spain, and included a considerable portion of the army, it was thought expedient, before entering into any intimate communication with Morillo, to initiate him in the mysteries of that assembly. This was done at Cadiz; and it was said at that time, that immediately after this step was taken, he was invited to take the lead in a revolutionary movement, for the accomplishment of which large sums were offered him by the merchants of that place. Be this as it may, it is certain that Morillo, having been indiscreet enough to reply in a numerous and mixed assembly, to a secret signal which was made to him by one of his associates, and this incident having given rise to a report in Cadiz that Morillo was a freemason and a liberal, he thought it expedient very soon after to make a sort of retractation of his sin by joining one of the numerous confraternities of that city, and appearing at one of its processions with a wax-taper in his hand. A few days after the

expedition set sail, and deceived the hopes which were founded upon it.

These hopes soon found a new object, and centred themselves in Galicia, a province which has always exercised great influence on the political events of Spain. It was then animated with the best spirit, owing to the presence of General Lacy, who had held a command there before Ferdinand's arrival. That spirit soon disclosed itself in the most unequivocal manner, especially amongst the soldiers. An insurrection having been determined on, and all the other preliminary measures having been taken, the only thing that remained to be done was to fix on a leader who enjoyed the general confidence, and was capable of carrying such a delicate enterprize into effect. The only man in the province who possessed these qualifications was Don Juan Diez Porlier, known by the name of Marquesito in the war of independence, in which he had distinguished himself by his valour and intelligence as a chieftain of guerillas. Unfortunately, however, on account of his being a determined liberal, and intimately connected with the most conspicuous members of that party, he had been condemned to four years' imprisonment, and he was now fulfilling his sentence in the Castle of San Anton, a fortress near Corunna.

A favourable opportunity, however, soon presented itself for accomplishing the views of the malcontents. Porlier, whose health was very much

impaired, as well by his exertions during the war as by the insalubrity and inconvenience of the prison, petitioned for leave to take the mineral baths at Arteyo, which was granted to him; and he was conducted thither under a strong escort. This incident appeared highly favourable to the friends of liberty. In effect, he scarcely arrived at that place, when the very commandant of the escort, who was responsible for his safe custody, addressed him in the name of all the liberals of the army of Galicia, offering to him the command of that army, and the direction of the revolutionary movement which they contemplated for the purpose of re-establishing in that province, and subsequently throughout all Spain, the political Constitution which had been subverted by Ferdinand.

The proposition having been received, and the plan of the first operations having been concerted, Porlier entered Corunna with his escort on the night of the 18th of September, 1815. The gate was guarded by friends, who received him with enthusiastic shouts, bearing him in triumph to the barracks, where the troops were impatiently expecting him. Porlier harangued the officers and troops with great energy, and his discourse produced an electric effect upon them. They all acknowledged him for their chief, and swore obedience to him. His first measures were to distribute skilfully the troops on the most important positions; to liberate the Constitutional prisoners,

and to secure the persons of the captain-general, and of other public functionaries who had given frequent and indubitable proofs of their hatred of liberty. He also issued a proclamation to the troops, and a manifesto to all Europe, both productions of great merit, in which the grievances under which the country was labouring, were ably contrasted with the blessings it might have enjoyed under the authority of the Constitution. He then ordered the Constitution of 1812 to be promulgated, which was done with the greatest solemnity and exultation, by an enthusiastic garrison, whose unanimous shout was "Long live Ferdinand VII, the Constitutional King!"

Circular letters were immediately addressed to all the authorities of the province, inviting them to take part in the movement so auspiciously commenced in Corunna; and although their answers were not very satisfactory, Porlier's mind was not therefore dismayed, especially when he saw several detachments come to join him from different parts of the province, and when he knew that the garrison of Santiago, the capital of the province, and its military college, were waiting only for his presence to declare for him.

Amongst the garrison troops at Santiago were some grenadiers of the provincial militia of Galicia. In Spain this class of troops is not engaged in permanent service: it assembles only when circumstances require it; and when those circumstances

cease, the men return to the tranquil occupations of agricultural life. Hence it happens, that when they are on duty as soldiers, they still preserve all the habits of the peasant; and amongst them that entire docility and obedience to the clergy, which is such a characteristic feature in the Spanish people. The clergy of Santiago, who were immensely rich, were actively in motion on learning the first news of the insurrection at Corunna, and they exerted all their means of seduction, particularly with the militiamen. These, in consequence, not only promised to avoid the example of the garrison of Corunna, but also offered to oppose it with all their strength. The leaders of the royalist party, however, preferred to proceed on a system of cunning and intrigue, which was as successful as its authors could have desired. Porlier had already left Corunna with eight hundred men, and was approaching Santiago, without meeting any where the smallest resistance. Having stopped at Ordenes, a small village two leagues from Santiago, the enemy availed themselves of this circumstance, in order to place themselves in communication with the troops who had proclaimed the Constitution. After distributing a great deal of gold amongst them, they persuaded them that Porlier's intention was to attack the provincial grenadiers. This rumour spread rapidly through the division. The sergeants, who had received the greatest share of the money, held a secret meeting, at

which one of them, of the name of Chacon, declaimed at much length against a civil war, and the horrors of an enterprize which would arm fellow-countrymen and brothers against each other. The result was, that they resolved to arrest the general and officers, and to deliver them up to the rigour of the laws. The general and the officers, little experienced in revolutionary operations, had in the mean time also assembled together, imprudently excluding the soldiers, and leaving them exposed to the arts of the intriguers and their seducers. So great was their supineness, that the sergeants had sufficient time to take the command into their own hands, to collect the troops, and to station them round the village in such a manner, that not one of their victims could escape. This being done, the sergeants, led on by their companion Chacon, entered the inn where Porlier and all his officers were at supper. The shouts of the traitors afforded sufficient time to the officers to take up their swords, and they offered an obstinate resistance, but at length yielded to superior numbers. Porlier and his friends were chained together, and conducted to the prison of the Inquisition at Santiago.

The effect produced at Corunna by the intelligence of this event, was such as might have been apprehended. The serviles triumphed, the Constitutional system was once more overturned, and all the hopes that had been entertained of a better

order of things were completely dissipated. The few men, indeed, who were capable of sound reflection, saw in this conspiracy the precursor of many others; while those who exulted in its failure, and were interested in prolonging Ferdinand's despotism, impressed him with the belief, that now was the auspicious moment for displaying his utmost severity, and for rooting out for ever the spirit of liberalism and discontent. With this rancorous view, orders were sent down to Galicia, that the prisoners, who had been removed to Corunna, and placed in gloomy dungeons, laden with heavy fetters, should be prosecuted forthwith. In the conduct of the proceedings, not only were the rules of humanity and justice violated, but even the forms of the criminal code of Spain, which certainly is not the most benevolent or charitable code in Europe. Porlier, particularly, was treated with the most cruel severity. The chains which were placed on him did not weigh less than fifty pounds; he was half naked in his dungeon; and after having slept several nights on the ground, he at length succeeded in obtaining, on account of his ill health, only a board and a truss of humid and rotten straw.

Oppressive and unjust as were the proceedings to which he was subjected, Porlier repeatedly expressed a desire that some person should be sent to him, to whom he might reveal some secrets of the greatest importance to the King and the na-

tion. Probably he had little else to say, than that a perennial source of revolution and discontent was fixed in the army and in the nation; a source which would not be destroyed even by the sacrifice of thousands of victims, and which nothing could weaken but useful reforms, effected without delay. Porlier's judges did not accede to his request, both because they were too urgently pressed to immolate him, and they feared that in his disclosures he would betray the abuses practised by the authorities of Corunna. On the 2d of October, sentence of degradation and of death by the gibbet was pronounced against the unhappy prisoner; and the following day he was executed. He shewed uncommon firmness on the occasion. Shortly before ascending the scaffold, the fiscal who was engaged in the cause, read to him, according to the Spanish custom, the form of his sentence; and upon coming to that part where it was mentioned that one of his crimes was that of being a traitor, Porlier interrupted the officer with great warmth, and exclaimed, "Traitor!—say rather, the most faithful servant of the country."

Porlier was tried alone, and alone he died. An extensive and intricate process was instituted against his accomplices, the result of which was that fourteen of them were condemned to death. Fortunately for themselves, they had fled in good

time to England. Amongst them was General Romay, who is now in London, and whose attachment to the Constitution remains undiminished.

As might be expected, the issue of Porlier's conspiracy produced different effects upon the several parties who divided the nation. The oppressed became more and more united, their exasperation became more intense, their number was augmented, their plans were confirmed, their hopes were animated; and those men who had combated in the war of independence, not content with lamenting his fate, swore to revenge it.

The oppressors, who were intoxicated with triumph, saw in Porlier's conspiracy a new pretext for new persecutions. The bugbear which the serviles surrounding Ferdinand constantly placed before him, was that the liberals meditated to take away his life; and thus rendering the feelings of the sovereign subservient to their own dominant passions, they hoped to obtain his sanction for adopting extreme measures against the danger of assassination, which threatened him, they said, while a liberal remained in existence. From the fact of the conspiracy in Galicia and its momentary success, they inferred that the faction which had carried it into effect was possessed of great strength, and able to make further attempts of a formidable character. Hence they insisted that no quarter should be given to the enemy; that all innovating ideas should be persecuted, until not a shadow of them

should linger in the country; and that every thing should be destroyed which was not stamped with the seal of the most passive obedience, and the most unreserved submission.

The measures which were subsequently adopted were the consequences of these principles. The Canon Escoiquiz, who had given so many proofs of his attachment to Ferdinand; who had put his life in danger, in order to save that of his royal master from the resentment of Godoy; who remained faithful to him in his misfortunes, and had hitherto flattered his favourite passions; was banished from court, and sent to Andalusia. His crime consisted in having told Ferdinand, in reference to the affair of Galicia, that the germ of insurrection could not be extirpated by criminal processes, by persecutions or punishments; but by salutary reforms, and measures of gentleness and prudence. He represented to him, above all things, that if some financial plan were not adopted, calculated to put an end to the depredation and disorder which prevailed to such an alarming degree, Porlier's rebellion neither could nor ought to be looked upon as any thing less than the prelude of a general commotion, in which the interests of the throne might probably be sacrificed.

The minister of war at that time was General Ballasteros, who had inspired the King with a singular feeling of kindness towards him, which his Majesty took several opportunities of evincing in

the most public and distinguished manner. His ministry was rendered remarkable only by the project which he presented to the King, and which his Majesty sanctioned, for establishing military commandancies throughout the Peninsula, somewhat on the plan of the French gendarmerie, although with rather more latitude as to the civil power of the commanders. The object of this system was, at least in appearance, to clear the country from the bands of robbers who infested the high roads, and who had hitherto carried on their depredations with the most scandalous impunity. The faction of the oppressors, who hated the army, looked upon the proposition as a gigantic step in favour of revolutionary ideas. The consequence was, that the plan was revoked, and Ballasteros was banished to a provincial town. The Empecinado experienced a similar fate; and innumerable orders, circulars, and instructions were issued, filled with the bitterest spirit of vengeance, and dictated under the influence of that terror arising from a consciousness of having perpetrated crimes whose disastrous consequences could not but have been foreseen and feared.

A short time after these transactions took place, another conspiracy, much bolder in its design than that of Porlier, was set on foot by Don Vincente Richart, a gentleman who held a high office, and was endowed by nature with all the qualities necessary for striking one of those decisive blows

which change in a moment the political aspect of nations.

The object of this conspiracy was nothing less than to get possession of the person of Ferdinand, and to make him swear to, and promulgate, the constitution of 1812. Nothing was easier than to accomplish the first step of this plan. The King was accustomed to take his excursions by the road which leads from Madrid to Alcala, accompanied by a numerous escort and several attendants. At a certain distance from Madrid he was in the habit of quitting his carriage and escort, and to walk on foot with the Queen, the Infantes, and their consorts, and a few attendants, as far as a small isolated inn in the middle of a field, called La Venta. At this spot a certain number of men on horseback were to rush suddenly on the King, place him on a horse, and conduct him without loss of time to Alcala, where there was a regiment in garrison decidedly in favour of the constitution. The causes which prevented the execution of this enterprize are not exactly known. Its authors had sufficient opportunity, and the necessary means for carrying it into effect. It is certain, however, that they gave it up, and in place of it formed a project for assassinating the King. Richart himself undertook to strike the blow in the dusk of evening, after the King returned from his airing, and when it was his custom to grant an audience to several persons. One of his accom-

plices betrayed him, and Richart was taken prisoner in the attics of the palace. The dagger with which he was to have accomplished his purpose, was found upon him, and he was soon after gibbetted in the great square of Madrid. He shewed great fortitude at his death, and proved by his conduct, that the enterprize which he had meditated, was the result of political principles, and not of undiscriminating passion.

The agitation excited in every party by an occurrence of such grave importance had scarcely subsided, when another, not less formidable, took place in Catalonia, which was sufficient in itself to have dissipated the cloud that hung over Ferdinand's vision, if an inexplicable fatality had not contributed to prolong his blindness.

General Lacy, who had displayed in the war of independence all the qualities of a consummate officer and an eminent patriot, happened to be captain-general of Galicia on Ferdinand's return to Spain; but, as his attachment to the constitutional system did not permit him to dissemble his disapprobation of the measures subsequently adopted by the King, he was included in the general proscription, and sent to Catalonia without any employment. There he lived a life of obscurity and poverty;—of obscurity, because his native modesty restrained him from profiting of opportunities to distinguish himself; and of poverty, because his fortune was reduced to his pay, and this was

greatly in arrear, as was the case with the whole army. During a journey which he made to Madrid in 1816, he conversed with some distinguished military men on the misfortunes which oppressed Spain, participated in the indignation which those evils excited amongst all true lovers of their country, and concerted the means of shaking off the yoke of tyranny, and of accelerating the reform of the state.

Amongst his friends and confidants was the Count Abisbal, who attended several secret meetings at which Lacy was present, and swore to assist him in his noble enterprize. Lacy was not dismayed by the unfortunate issue of the operations in Galicia, and having gone in March 1817 to take the mineral waters at Caldetes in Catalonia, and having met there some friends who shared in his sentiments and his hopes, he thought that the moment was arrived for executing in a province so strongly inclined to such enterprizes as Catalonia, a design which had failed in other parts of the Peninsula. The individuals who concurred with Lacy at Caldetes, and who resolved to assist him in his project, enjoyed great influence in the province of Catalonia, and amongst the troops who occupied it. They proceeded to use their utmost endeavours in order to secure a force sufficiently respectable to leave no doubt about the result. These preparations having been made, a day was fixed on for a general explosion,

which was to take place on the 5th of April; but, in the mean time, an infamous plan for betraying them was organized, which was destined to frustrate once more the hopes of every patriot, and to immolate new victims on the altars of despotism. Two officers of those who were in the secret sold the confidence which was reposed in them, and disclosed the whole plan to the superior authority of the province. Their names were Appentel and Nandin; names the more deserving of infamy, as those two persons were particularly relied upon by Lacy.

One of the regiments which were to have co-operated in the insurrection, was that of Tarragona, whose lieutenant-colonel, Don Jose Quer, mustered two companies, and marched with them to Caldetes to join the General. Lasala, the colonel of the regiment, having been forewarned by the two traitors, assembled the remaining companies, and by means of punishments and menaces, prevailed on them not to follow their rebellious companions. In the mean time, the latter arrived at their destination, and saluted General Lacy with the greatest enthusiasm. He placed himself at their head, and proceeded to the country-house of General Milans, one of the principal conspirators, where they passed the night not without great anxiety and distrust. Towards day-break, it having been announced by some officers who arrived from Mataro and Barcelona, that the plan had been discovered, it was evident that no time

was to be lost. The troops who were at hand might, at all events, it was thought, be depended upon; and other resources not being despaired of, it was resolved to march forward to Mataro, for the purpose of raising the garrison and the inhabitants; and in case of not succeeding in this, to approach the frontiers, and, if necessary, enter France. A few minutes after this determination was taken, the agents sent by Lasala introduced themselves into the ranks; and having prevailed on the soldiers to abandon Lacy and his officers, they proceeded to Arens del Mar. Milans exerted himself in the most strenuous manner to prevent this disastrous event; but Lasala's agents, and particularly one of them called Cuero, were more influential. Lacy and those who remained with him had now to think only of providing for their own security.

General Castanos, who commanded in Barcelona, and who hitherto remained passive, because he had reason to believe that the insurrection would have extended throughout the province, in which case he would have made a merit of his non-interference, seeing that the plan of the conspirators was frustrated, despatched a general officer to join Lasala, and to co-operate with him. These two chiefs ordered out different detachments in pursuit of the fugitives, who took different directions. Milans and several others escaped; but Lacy was not so successful. Being closely followed, together with a few of his friends, by some pea-

sants whom the governor of Mataro had sent after them, they took refuge in a country-house, the owner of which denounced them as soon as they left it on their way to the frontier, and informed the peasants of the road which they had taken. Shortly after, the fugitives saw themselves surrounded by their savage pursuers, who threatened to fire on them if they did not surrender. The General, who never for a moment lost his presence of mind, answered that he would never give up his sword except to a soldier. Some of the peasants, awed by the dignified manner in which Lacy replied to them, fell back in confusion; others, remembering the great reward that was offered them if they apprehended the leader of the conspiracy, persevered in their menaces. At this moment a military detachment came up, to whose commanding officer Lacy was about to deliver up his sword, when the former said—"Your Excellency will excuse me from taking your sword; it cannot be in better hands than your own."

Lacy was conducted as a prisoner to the citadel of Barcelona, and sentenced to death by a military commission. Castanos, however, saw that the sentence could not be executed in Barcelona without incurring the danger of its being prevented by the garrison, which had been very much disposed to follow the steps of Lacy, and looked upon him with the greatest veneration for his exploits in the late war. Full of these fears, he consulted the

court on what he ought to do. The general expression of public opinion rose to such a pitch in favour of the accused, that nobody believed he would be sacrificed. These hopes had acquired a certain degree of consistency in Barcelona, when it was known that the order arrived for sending Lacy on board a vessel bound for Majorca. The unhappy prisoner from that moment persuaded himself that his life would be spared. When he reached the island, he was taken to the castle of Belver; and at twelve o'clock, on the night of the fourth day after his arrival, the fiscal presented himself, and notified to him the sentence of death, which was to be executed within a few hours. At day-break, on the ensuing morning, he was shot in the ditch of the castle: he met his death with firmness, and never swerved from that magnanimity of character which had so much distinguished him.

This cruel sacrifice, and more than all, the base treachery, and the infernal cunning with which it was executed, raised the indignation of the army to an extreme degree. Discontent spread rapidly through their ranks; the secret societies were multiplied; the rigour and vigilance of the superior officers were exercised in vain; the only object which occupied all their thoughts was to shake off the yoke, and to rescue the King from the faction which ruled him. The conspiracy of Port St. Mary, at a later period, which was frustrated

by the perfidy of O'Donnell, proved that the flame was not soon extinguished; and the events of January 1820, which do not come within the sphere of this narrative, shewed that despotism had at last exhausted the patience of the soldiers.

It should be observed, that during the six years of Ferdinand's absolute reign, not a single military measure was adopted which was not contrary to the honour and the welfare of the army: yet it was this army which had rescued him from his captivity in Valençay, which had restored him to that unlimited power of which the representatives of the nation had deprived him; and it was to this army he was to look as his only support in carrying on that system of oppression and violence which he had already commenced.

The evils which afflicted the army were not less severe than those which aggrieved the navy. This portion of the defensive establishments of the state was not only criminally neglected, but cruelly persecuted, by the ministers of Ferdinand. The senseless expeditions to America consumed the few vessels of war which remained to Spain. Some were blown up by negligence or malice, as happened to the ship San Pedro Alcantara, which was the principal one in Morillo's expedition: the rest were captured by the insurgents, as occurred to the frigate Alexander, which was one of those presented by the Russian cabinet to indemnify Spain for the rotten ships which she

had purchased. The arsenals and docks were abandoned, the stores were exhausted; but the worst evil of all was the irregularity, or rather the total absence, of pay, by which the navy suffered during the whole six years. Seventy months' pay was due to them; whence it happened that admirals and captains of vessels were frequently reduced to the necessity of begging charity in the public streets. At Ferrol an officer of the marines died of hunger. An official account of this event was published in the local gazette, as if the Government wished to make a shew of the sufferings of its victims, or of the contempt with which it looked upon the most sacred obligations.

MEMOIRS OF FERDINAND VII.

MISCELLANEOUS ANECDOTES.

THOSE traits in the character of Ferdinand which we have placed before the reader, have shewn, that if he wants those high qualifications which are necessary for the government of a great empire in critical circumstances, he is equally destitute of that dignity of manner, that serenity of mind, and that elevation of thought, which ought to accompany such exalted rank. Upon his return to Spain, he abrogated, in a great measure, those forms of etiquette which had previously reigned in the court, and introduced in their place a certain system of familiarity, hitherto entirely unknown. In the time of his predecessors of the house of Bourbon, each member of the royal family dined in a separate apartment; the services were numerous, and the ceremony with which they were attended converted that ordinary act into a kind of court festivity. The dishes were served up in processional order, escorted by a military guard; and such persons as happened to be going through the passage at the time, were

obliged to take off their hats, and to pass on in a respectful manner. Ferdinand abolished all this ceremony, established the more easy system of dinner *en famille*, and invited as guests such grandees as offered themselves, the clergy, and the religious communities of both sexes. He was likewise accustomed to have different amusements in his apartment; such as concerts, slight-of-hand and phantasmagoria; at which only a limited number of the courtiers attended. Ferdinand did not find much pleasure in the demeanour of those persons; but he derived great enjoyment from that of the inferior servants, whom he treated with the greatest familiarity, and to whom he allowed the most extraordinary liberties. Amongst them was one Chamorro, celebrated as a sort of stupid and vulgar buffoon, who, by his fooleries, afforded infinite diversion to Ferdinand, and obtained a sufficient degree of influence with him to dispose of the first offices in the kingdom.

It is incredible what a number of important affairs have been managed in Spain by such obscure means as these. The King listened with delight to all the tales and anecdotes which the servants related to him concerning the most important personages. Frequently have his servants, who were interested in the issue of any affair, preoccupied his mind in such a manner, that when the ministers came to transact business, he informed them of the resolution which he had taken, and

which was often the very reverse of what they contemplated. Woe to the minister who, in such circumstances, shewed the least obstinacy in opposing the suggestions of those secret instruments!

It happened more than once, that these persons introduced into the King's private cabinet some obscure though bold adventurer, who, by giving it to be understood that he was informed of the plans of the liberals, and by exaggerating the risks to which the person of the King was exposed if those designs should be carried into effect, succeeded in obtaining his confidence, together with an important employment. The public was naturally astonished at witnessing such sudden promotions, as it knew nothing of the secret means by which they were acquired.

Many were the persons who enjoyed these opportunities of advancement, and who were not sparing in the use of them. As soon, however, as any one amongst them obtained a certain degree of favour, and won the distinguished confidence of the King, then his situation became critical; for Ferdinand never wished it to be said that he had favourites, and he soon sacrificed those whom the public marked out by that name. Hence the rapidity with which the Macanazes, the Vargas, the Ostolazas, and an endless catalogue of other names, have disappeared from the court. There were, however, two men who maintained themselves in unqualified favour until the revolution of

1820—the Duke of Alazon, and Don Isidoro Montenegro.

The Duke of Alazon, a soldier without any other merit than that of being well descended, had acquired a high reputation for gallantry in the court of Charles IV. Ferdinand lavished on him every mark of kindness, and gave him the command of the regiment of body guards, in which situation, according to the custom of the court, he was the inseparable companion of the sovereign. The Duke used every exertion to give to the regiment under his command all the splendour of which it was susceptible; and as the administrators of the finances found it their interest to court him, on account of the favour which he enjoyed, they did not stint him in money. It has been asserted, with every appearance of truth, that the sums which were expended on that corps, during the six years of which we treat, would have been sufficient to keep on foot a respectable army. Public report attributed to the Duke the management of the King's secret amours: it is certain, however, that his Majesty never had any mistresses openly recognized as such. Some nocturnal excursions, on which the King went out disguised, accompanied by the Duke, doubtless gave rise to these rumours.

It is an unquestionable fact, that the Duke disposed of the public wealth at his pleasure, as will appear from the following circumstance, which is

well known in Madrid.—A friar, who had deserted his convent, and lived concealed in Madrid from fear of the persecutions of his brethren, presented himself one day at the house of Estefany the lottery-director, dressed in the uniform of the halberdiers,* with a letter from the Duke of Alazon, in which he requested Estefany to send him two thousand dollars in gold, with all possible expedition. Estefany, who had nothing but silver in the lottery coffers, desired the halberdier to return again in a few moments, as he would be obliged to go out to look for gold. He did not succeed, however, in getting the gold, and went himself to apologize to the Duke for not having it in his power to satisfy his wishes. The Duke told him that he had not sent for any money; and it was ultimately discovered that the letter was a forgery, and the friar was apprehended. This incident shewed, that that was not the first time Estefany executed similar orders; and, perhaps in order not to give more publicity to the affair, the proceedings for the forgery were hushed up, and the matter was not again mentioned.

Montenegro was one of the grooms of the bed-

* The guard of halberdiers, or yeomen of the guard, which Ferdinand has just suppressed, did service in the interior of the palace. The soldiers belonging to it were also generally employed in taking all letters which were sent from the palace.

chamber in the service of Ferdinand, while he was at Valençay. After the King's return to Spain, he was laden with honours and dignities, and was moreover the *magister elegantiarum* of all the royal palaces. He superintended their decoration, had the regulation of the King's country excursions and other diversions, his dress and numberless little details; in which office he shewed not less his bad taste than his sumptuous prodigality, as well as the contempt with which he looked upon the scandalous contrast existing between his profusion and the misery of the country.

When the Queen Maria Isabel came to Spain, she soon shared in the feeling of attachment which her consort professed for Montenegro. This gave rise to a scene which made much noise in the palace. One day the Queen was sewing the cross of Charles III. to the riband of that order, for the use of her husband. She desired Montenegro to assist her by holding one of the ends of the riband, and in doing so he bent his knee, intending thus to perform the office in the most respectful manner. The King entered unperceived by a side door, and, without seeing what Montenegro was doing, he observed only that he was on one knee, and rather too near the Queen. Actuated by an instantaneous impulse of jealousy, and without stopping to see what was the real state of the case, he rushed towards the favourite and struck him a violent blow, which laid him prostrate on

the floor. The Queen cried out—the servants hastened to her assistance—and Montenegro got up in a confused manner, and, without uttering a word, he withdrew to his own residence. The King, however, was soon undeceived; he ordered him to be sent for, made him a magnificent present, and restored him to all his former favour.

Ferdinand's ministers seldom succeeded in inspiring him with any particular degree of attachment towards them, although there were not wanting those who sacrificed the most sacred duties to a desire of courting his favour by every species of adulation. The only one amongst them to whom he was really partial was Don Juan Lozano de Torres, whose history deserves some notice. He was the nephew of the watch-maker Lozano, who is well known in London, and the son of a carpenter in Cadiz. He spent his youth in dealing out pounds of chocolate in a shop in that city. By some means or other, which are not well ascertained, he had opportunities of visiting England, Switzerland, and other countries, without, however, acquiring that knowledge, or that emancipation from prejudice, which Spaniards generally derive from travelling *. In the war of

* Rousseau says, that of all the European nations, the Spaniards derive most advantage from foreign travel. Some recent examples confirm the opinion of the Genevese philosopher: witness Orfila, Queralto, Cavanillas, and others.

independence, he was employed in the commissariat of the army, and obtained some reputation for ability. When the King arrived at Valencia, Lozano was in Badajos, whence he addressed a letter to his Majesty, so full of protestations of affection for his royal person, and of bitter invectives against the liberal party, that Ferdinand was taken with him, and he was ordered to proceed to Madrid. In the capital he performed the part of a man entirely devoted to the King, on whom he looked with a sort of adoration, and whose portrait he generally wore suspended from his neck. He conducted himself at the same time towards Ferdinand as a disinterested adviser, the enemy of place and of all dignities, and solely desirous of the sovereign's welfare. Various distinguished employments were offered him, none of which he would accept. At length, in one of those ministerial commotions which have been so common in Ferdinand's reign, he was appointed Minister of State; an office which he accepted, after an affected resistance.

The subordinate situations in this department are usually filled in Spain, by men who have served in diplomatic employments at foreign courts. They are leagued together by a professional spirit, which no political vicissitudes have at any time dissolved; and they are so powerful by their union and their connexions, that they have been always victorious

in their contests with the ministers, with the King, and even with the nation.

Men so circumstanced could not but consider the nomination of Lozano to an office, which has been usually conferred on some member of their own body, as an insult to them all. The result was, that when the new minister made his appearance at the bureau, the under officers, far from recognizing him as their superior, declared, in the most determined manner, that they would never do business under his orders; and that, consequently, either he or they would be under the necessity of quitting the department. Lozano knew that he was not sufficiently high in favour to resist this determined opposition; he thought it most prudent to yield, and he sent in his resignation. But the party which supported him was not dismayed by this occurrence, and he was soon after named Minister of Grace and Justice.

The matters with which this department is conversant, relate entirely to the church and the magistracy. The nation, therefore, was not a little surprised on seeing a man placed at the head of such important branches of the state, who was equally destitute of knowledge and experience. He determined to make all possible use of the powerful elements which he held at his disposal; and while he lavished his favours on the most fanatical and violent of the clergy, he used all his

influence with the tribunals, in order to urge on a most sanguinary persecution against all those who could be suspected, not only of liberalism, but of information.

As the King never forgot the idea which had been impressed upon him from the beginning, that the principal object of the liberals was to take away his life, Lozano took advantage of this apprehension, and sustained and fostered it, during the whole time of his ministry, with a dexterous perseverance which would have done honour to his character and talent, if it had been applied to a more noble purpose. But as he knew, at the same time, that the King was impatient of continued application to subjects of a grave nature, he managed to amuse him with little anecdotes arising out of the affairs of his office. When Lozano transacted business with the King, the audience generally lasted several hours; a circumstance which surprised every body, until they heard of the arts of which the cunning courtier availed himself.

But the great source of his influence was his attachment to the royal person, the favourite virtue of that epoch, and which he well knew how to attune to the key that was most in use amongst the fanatics of the period. To such an extent did he practise on the King's mind by this artifice, that he made him believe that the most extraordinary congeniality of temperament existed be-

tween himself and his Majesty; and that nature had been pleased to render their organization so precisely similar, as to make them susceptible of the same dispositions and sentiments.

On one occasion a favourable opportunity was found for confirming this ludicrous idea, in a manner which surprised Ferdinand very much. Lozano was accustomed to send a servant every morning to the palace, to inquire how his Majesty had spent the night. One morning the servant returned with the intelligence that the King had been afflicted with a violent cholic, and he brought all the details of the symptoms by which it was accompanied. Lozano, who had not yet made his toilet, to which he was generally remarkably attentive, dressed himself in the most negligent manner, and proceeding to the palace, demanded an extraordinary audience on a matter of great importance. The King, who was better, and who never refused to see his ministers on such occasions, ordered him to be admitted; and seeing him pale and dejected, he asked the cause. Lozano told him that he had suffered from a severe fit of cholic during the preceding night, and he described it as attended exactly by the same circumstances as those by which the King had been affected. Ferdinand was astonished, and expressed his wonder that they should have been each attacked precisely in the same manner. "Your Majesty may be surprised," rejoined Lozano, "but I am not; be-

cause I am morally certain that whatever occurs to your Majesty will happen also to me, and that you cannot be happy or unfortunate without my being so too."

Yet even Lozano, who left the ministerial seat only a few months before the revolution, had experience at last of the little dependance which was to be placed on Ferdinand's attachment. He gave him several proofs of ingratitude on his fall, ordered him to examine his papers, and to give up some which it was important for Lozano to retain in his own hands. He afterwards commanded him to quit Madrid, and frequently spoke of him with the greatest contempt.

This circumstance reminds us of an incident which occurred before this period to Ballasteros. Whilst he was minister of war, Ferdinand was so partial to him, that the General, having occasion to retire to a village near Madrid, for the benefit of his health, the King went every day to see him, and passed several hours in his company. During one of these visits, Ferdinand told him that he had a great deal of military business to dispatch, and as he could not get through it without the minister's assistance, he requested him to be in Madrid on such a day. Ballasteros went on the day appointed; but, instead of the business which he expected, he found a decree divesting him of his office, and banishing him from the capital.

At the period of which we are speaking, there was a great change in the relations subsisting between Ferdinand and his royal parents, who had been residing for a considerable time in Rome. It is well known, that the predilection of Charles and of Maria Louisa for Godoy, placed a wall of brass between those two personages and their son, who took repeated opportunities of evincing how little he respected the authors of his existence. An occurrence, however, took place at Rome which totally altered the feelings of Charles towards his old favourite. A courtier of the name of San Martin, having introduced himself into the good graces of the King, he convinced him that the true origin of Godoy's extraordinary fortune was the intense passion which Maria Louisa entertained for him. This idea now found its way into the mind of Charles for the first time; and the consequence was, that he looked with hatred and contempt on the man who had been before the object of his boundless favour. As soon as this intelligence reached Ferdinand's ears, he commenced a friendly correspondence with his father; which, however, did not soothe the bitter feelings occasioned by that discovery in the old man's mind. He separated himself for the first time from Maria Louisa, and went on a visit to his brother the King of Naples. Overwhelmed by grief, he could not avoid declaring the source of it to his royal brother, who exclaimed on hearing him — "And

it is this that troubles you! You have been deceived all your life by your wife, and it is only now you have found it out! Console yourself with the reflection, that I have been also deceived, as have been innumerable other husbands, who did not therefore think it necessary to fret themselves to death." This jocularity did not heal Charles's wounded spirit, and he soon after declined into his grave.

Maria Louisa preserved to her latest moments the two resistless passions of her life—her love for Godoy, and her hatred of her son. Neither age nor misfortune impaired those feelings. Godoy occupied a habitation immediately near her's; and having become sick, the Queen attended on him with unwearied anxiety; to such a degree did she debilitate herself, that she fell down one day and broke both her legs. Godoy's daughter lived in a palace near Maria Louisa, with all the etiquette and pre-eminence of an infanta. To her last sigh the unhappy Queen preserved, in all its vigour, that passion which had been the disgrace and the tyrant of her existence.

Ferdinand embittered her final moments by expressing to her, through the medium of his ambassador Vargas, an eager desire to get possession of his mother's diamonds, which were both numerous and magnificent. Vargas executed his commission with the indelicacy of a man who is anxious only to please authority, and has no respect for

the unfortunate. The Queen objected to give them up; and declared, in presence of Cardinal Gonsalvi, and other illustrious personages of the Court of Rome, that the diamonds should not go out of her possession until death; and that she would much sooner throw them into the Tiber, than give them to her son. She did keep them until she breathed her last; but her body was yet warm when Vargas took possession of the desired treasure, carrying his zeal in Ferdinand's service to such an extent, as even to remove from the fingers of the corpse a gold ring of paltry value, which Maria Louisa had signified a wish to take with her to the tomb.

The execution of the will of the royal parents shewed how inflexible Ferdinand can be when he wishes. They fixed considerable pensions for several persons who had been in their service during their exile. These pensions were all sanctioned by Ferdinand, with the exception of those which were bequeathed in favour of individuals who had shewn any attachment to Godoy.

This want of sensibility is one of the most characteristic traits of the present King of Spain. His self-love and pride may be deeply affected, but his heart is never touched. He was affectionately attached to his second wife, Maria Isabel of Braganza; but he was playing at ninepins when her funeral left the palace, and the following

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countenance. The uncomm en supp
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have so often extricated him from the most
nent dangers.

Ferdinand is a man of middle stature; his figure is large beyond proportion; his complexion is pale, and his health is frequently interrupted by extremely violent attacks of the gout. To this affliction, and to the infirmities of his youth, he owes a flaccidity of appearance which does not correspond with his age. His features are strongly marked and rather deformed, though his look wants not animation. His constant custom of smoking segars, which he scarcely ever suspends, gives a bad odour to his breath. The versatility of his features is so great, that the most eminent artists have failed to give a perfect likeness of him. His gestures are lively, and often violent. He speaks in a hurried manner, and all his actions partake of the precipitate character of his conversation. He is subject to no ruling passion. He

the unfortunate. This only pleasure is in mak- them up; and deck his paces. His demeanour Gonsalvi, and oth are intimate with him, goes be- Court of Rome, of familiarity; and even during out of her pa iences which he gives to those who would much ided by his favourites, he forgets all give them clines on a sofa, and smokes and enters she breat rsation with strangers. He possesses a when V ng memory, and is so deep a dissembler, sure, c often eludes the observation of those who such him most intimately.

of the events of Ferdinand's life have contributed M increase the defects of his character, and to in- luce him to follow, without any reserve, his fa- vourite inclinations. He has been always cast down through his own fault; he has himself al- ways created the germ of those evils which have come upon him; but he has always found a fo- reign hand to rescue him from every misfor- tune.

His hatred of enlightened ideas, and the fear which he entertains of well-informed men, are fea- tures in his character which have exercised, and will continue to exercise, great influence upon the destinies of Spain. She, unhappily, gives herself up to the most profound ignorance, while all the other communities of Europe nobly emulate each other in improving the useful sciences. Ferdi- nand abhors those sciences as dangerous ene-

mies; and although public opinion
him down as a devotee, nor even supp
be sincerely religious, he will always co
favour fanaticism as the best auxiliary of
lute power, which is the idol of his soul, and
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APPENDIX.

THE following documents not having been sent to the Translator until the greater part of the work had been printed off, it was not in his power to make such references to them, in notes under the text, as would have led the reader at once from the facts stated in the narrative to the proofs on which they rest. He has found it necessary, therefore, to prefix to each document the passage in the text to which it refers.

"*At the moment that every thing was prepared for execution, Ferdinand addressed a letter to Napoleon, dated from the Escurial, 11th of October,* 1807," &c. — Page 11. The following is the letter referred to:—

"SIRE,

"The fear of troubling your Imperial and royal Majesty, in the midst of those more important exploits and affairs which incessantly demand your attention, has hitherto prevented me from gratifying, in a direct manner, the warmest wish of my heart—

that of expressing, at least in writing, the sentiments of respect, esteem, and attachment, which I entertain for a hero who eclipses all those that have gone before him, and who has been sent by Providence to save Europe from the confusion with which it was threatened, to sustain its tottering thrones, and to restore to the nations tranquillity and happiness.

" Your Imperial and royal Majesty's virtues, your moderation, your generosity even towards your most unjust and implacable enemies, all induce me to hope, that the expression of my sentiments will be received as the effusion of a heart impressed with the highest admiration, and the most sincere friendship.

" The situation in which I have been placed for some time, and which cannot have escaped the penetrating eye of your Imperial and royal Majesty, has operated also as another obstacle which has checked the expression of my wishes: but, animated by the hope that I shall find in your Imperial and royal Majesty's magnanimous generosity the most powerful protection, I have resolved, not only to testify the sentiments of my heart towards your august person, but to confide its inmost feelings to your breast, as to that of a tender father.

" I am peculiarly unfortunate in being obliged by circumstances to conceal, as a crime, an action so laudable and just in itself; but such are the

unhappy consequences of the extreme good-nature of one of the best of kings.

"Entertaining, as I do, the greatest respect and filial love for him to whom I owe my existence, and who is endowed with the most upright and generous heart, I should never have ventured to repeat to your Imperial and royal Majesty a fact with which you are much better acquainted than I am—that these very qualities, however estimable in themselves, are but too often converted, by artful and wicked persons, into instruments for concealing the truth from the eyes of sovereigns, however congenial it may be to a character like that of my respectable father.

"If those men, who unfortunately surround him, suffered him to become acquainted with your Imperial and royal Majesty's real character, as I am, how ardently would he not desire to draw closer the ties which should unite our respective houses! And what means could be better calculated to attain this object, than that of soliciting from your Imperial and royal Majesty the honour of giving to me in marriage a princess of your august family? This is the unanimous wish of all my father's subjects: it will be his also, I doubt not, in spite of the efforts of a few persons who oppose it, as soon as he shall know your Imperial and royal Majesty's intentions. This is all my heart desires; but it is not what is calculated upon by the perfidious and selfish men who surround him, and they may on the

first opportunity mislead him. Hence arise my apprehensions.

"It is only their awe of your Imperial and royal Majesty which can frustrate their plots, open the eyes of my beloved parents to my welfare, render them happy, and, at the same time, secure my felicity and that of the nation.

"The whole world will thus every day more and more admire your Imperial and royal Majesty's goodness, and you will always find in me a most grateful and most devoted son.

"I implore, then, with the greatest confidence, your Majesty's paternal protection, trusting that you will not only deign to grant me the honour of an alliance with your family, but that you will also smoothen all difficulties, and remove all obstacles which might impede the object of my wishes.

"This exertion of kindness on the part of your Imperial and royal Majesty is the more necessary to me, as I cannot on my side take the least step; because it would be represented, perhaps, as an insult offered to the authority of a father; and because I have only one resource—that of refusing, as I shall do with invincible firmness, to ally myself with any person, whoever she may be, without the positive consent and approbation of your Imperial and royal Majesty, from whom alone I expect the selection of a consort.

"This is a felicity which I hope for from your Imperial and royal Majesty's goodness, praying that

God may preserve your precious life for many long years.

"Written with my own hand, and sealed with my seal, at the Escurial, the 11th of October, 1807. Your Imperial and royal Majesty's most affectionate servant and brother,

"FERDINAND."

"*Charles IV. transmitted an account of this event to Napoleon, in terms which fully proved the ascendancy exercised over him by the Prince of the Peace.*"—Page 14.

Letter from Charles IV, King of Spain, to the Emperor of the French:—

"SIRE AND BROTHER,

"At the very moment that I am occupied in providing the means of co-operating with you for the destruction of our common enemy, when I believed that all the plots of the ci-devant Queen of Naples had been buried with her daughter, I have discovered, with a feeling of horror that makes me shudder, that the most shocking spirit of intrigue has penetrated even into the bosom of my palace. Alas! my heart bleeds at attempting a recital of such a frightful crime. My eldest son, the presumptive heir to my throne, has formed the horrible design of dethroning me: he carried it even to the extent of meditating to take away

the life of his mother. Such a frightful crime must be punished with the most exemplary rigour of the laws. The law which calls him to the accession shall be revoked; one of his brothers will be more worthy of replacing him in my heart and on the throne. I am at this moment endeavouring to find out his accomplices, in order to fathom the plan of this most atrocious conspiracy; and I shall not lose a moment in letting your Imperial and royal Majesty know the result, entreating, at the same time, that you will aid me with your observations and your counsel.

"And I pray God, my good brother, that He may take your Imperial and royal Majesty into his holy and worthy keeping.

"CHARLES.

"San Lorenzo, 29th October, 1807."

"*Besides this, he wrote separate letters to his father and mother, in which he begged pardon,*" &c.—Page 16.

Ferdinand's letters to his father and mother.

I.—"SIRE AND FATHER,

"I am guilty. In offending against your Majesty, I have offended against my father and my king; but I am sorry for it, and I promise henceforth to your Majesty the most submissive obedience. I ought not to have done any thing with-

out your Majesty's consent; but I was misguided. I have denounced the guilty, and I implore your Majesty to pardon me, and to suffer your grateful son to kiss your Majesty's feet.

" FERDINAND.

" San Lorenzo, November 5th, 1807."

II.—" MADAM AND MOTHER,

" I sincerely repent the great fault which I have committed against the King and the Queen, my father and mother. I also, with the deepest submission, ask pardon of you for my obstinacy in concealing the truth from you the other evening; and I supplicate your Majesty, from the bottom of my heart, to condescend to use your mediation with my father, that he may permit his grateful son to kiss his feet.

" FERDINAND.

" San Lorenzo, November 5th, 1807."

" *A secret treaty was signed at Fontainebleau, on the 27th of October,* 1807, *between the Emperor, represented by Marshal Duroc, and Charles IV. represented by Izquierdo, councillor of state, which may be considered as the parent of all those great events, of which Spain soon after became the theatre.*"—Page 18.

The following are the articles of this treaty:—

Article I.—The province of Entre Migno and Duero, including the city of Oporto, shall be given in full property and sovereignty to his Majesty the King of Etruria, with the title of *King of Northern Lusitania.*

Art. II.—The province of Alentejo and the kingdom of the Algarves shall be given in full property and sovereignty to the Prince of the Peace, which he shall retain under the title of *Prince of the Algarves.*

Art. III.—The provinces of Beira, Tras-los-Montes, and Estremadura in Portugal, shall remain in deposit until the general peace; and then they will be disposed of according to circumstances, and as may be agreed upon between the high contracting parties.

Art. IV.—The kingdom of Northern Lusitania shall be possessed by the descendants of his Majesty the King of Etruria, according to the laws of inheritance which prevail in the reigning family of his Majesty the King of Spain.

Art. V.—The principality of the Algarves shall be possessed by the descendants of the Prince of the Peace, according to the laws of inheritance which prevail in the reigning family of his Majesty the King of Spain.

Art. VI.—In default of issue, or of legitimate

heirs of the King of Northern Lusitania, or of the Prince of the Algarves, these countries shall be granted, by way of investiture, by his Catholic Majesty the King of Spain, provided that they shall never be united under one person, nor to the crown of Spain.

Art. VII.—The kingdom of Northern Lusitania, and the principality of the Algarves, shall recognize his Catholic Majesty as their protector, and the sovereigns of these countries can never make peace or war without his consent.

Art. VIII.—If the provinces of Beira, Tras-los-Montes, and of Estremadura in Portugal, remaining in deposit, be restored at the time of the general peace to the house of Braganza, in exchange for Gibraltar, the island Trinidad, and other colonies which the English have conquered from Spain and her allies, the new sovereign shall be placed on the same footing of submission, with respect to his Catholic Majesty, as the King of Northern Lusitania and the Prince of the Algarves; and he shall possess those provinces on the same conditions.

Art. IX.—The King of Etruria cedes, in full property and sovereignty, the kingdom of Etruria to his Majesty the Emperor of the French and King of Italy.

Art. X.—When the definitive occupation of the Portuguese provinces shall be effected, the different princes who are to possess them shall

appoint in concert with each other commissioners to ascertain their natural boundaries.

Art. XI.—His Majesty the Emperor of the French, King of Italy, guarantees to his Catholic Majesty the possession of his dominions on the continent of Europe, situated to the south of the Pyrenees.

Art. XII.—His Majesty the Emperor of the French, King of Italy, pledges himself to recognise his Catholic Majesty the King of Spain as *Emperor of the two Americas*, when every thing shall be prepared for his Majesty's assuming this title; which will be at the general peace, or, at the latest, in three years from this time.

Art. XIII.—The high contracting powers will grant means for making, in an amicable manner, an equal division of the islands, colonies, and other possessions beyond sea, belonging to Portugal.

Art. XIV.—The present treaty shall remain secret: it shall be ratified; and the ratifications shall be exchanged at Madrid twenty days after the day of their being signed, at the latest.

Done at Fontainebleau, 27th Oct. 1807.

(Signed) DUROC.
E. IZQUIERDO.

"*But the article* (for *article*, read *convention*,) *which was appended to it, was of more consequence than the treaty itself.*"—Page 18.

The following are the articles of the convention here referred to :—

Art. I.—A French imperial army of twenty-five thousand infantry and three thousand cavalry shall enter Spain; it shall form a junction with a body of Spanish troops, to the number of eight thousand infantry, three thousand cavalry, and thirty pieces of artillery.

Art. II.—At the same time, a division of Spanish troops, to the number of ten thousand men, shall take possession of the province of Entre Migno and Duero, and the city of Oporto; and another division, of six thousand men, consisting also of Spanish troops, shall take possession of Alentejo and of the kingdom of the Algarves.

Art. III.—The French troops shall be subsisted and lodged by Spain, and their pay shall be sent from France during the time of their stay in Spain.

Art. IV.—As soon as the combined armies shall have entered Portugal, the provinces of Beira, Tras-los-Montes, and of Portuguese Estremadura, which are to remain in deposit, shall be administered and governed by the general commanding the French troops; and the contributions which shall be levied upon them shall be to the benefit of France. The provinces which are to compose the kingdom of Northern Lusitania, and the principality of the Algarves, shall be administered and governed by the generals

commanding the Spanish divisions which shall take possession of them, and the contributions raised upon them shall be to the benefit of Spain.

Art. V.—The army of the centre shall be under the orders of the commander of the French troops, as shall also be the Spanish troops which shall join them. Nevertheless, if the King of Spain or the Prince of the Peace should find it expedient, or deem it proper, to repair thither, the general commanding the French troops, and those troops themselves, shall be subjected to the orders of the King of Spain, or of the Prince of the Peace.

Art. VI.—Another army, of forty thousand men, of French troops, shall be assembled at Bayonne by the 20th of next November, or before that time; and it will be ready to march for Portugal, passing through Spain, if the English send reinforcements and threaten to attack the former country. Nevertheless, this second army shall not enter until the two high contracting parties shall have agreed to that effect.

Art. VII.—The present convention shall be ratified; and the exchange of the ratifications shall be made at the same time as the treaty of this day.

Done at Fontainebleau, the 27th of October, 1807.

(Signed) DUROC.
E. IZQUIERDO.

"*The King appeared in the balcony,*" &c.; "*and a general persuasion prevailed that the favourite had fled several hours ago, and was already many leagues from Aranjuez.*"—Page 30.

It would seem, from the following letter, addressed by Charles to Napoleon, that the King at the same time announced to the people that Godoy was no longer his minister: although that is not stated in the text, yet it may be inferred from it.

"SIRE AND BROTHER,

"Considerable time has elapsed since the Prince of the Peace addressed reiterated requests to me that I would allow him to resign his offices as generalissimo and admiral. I have acceded to his wishes, by accepting his resignation of these offices: but as I can never forget the services which he has rendered to me, and especially that of having co-operated with my constant and invariable desire to maintain that close alliance and friendship which subsist between your Imperial and royal Majesty and me, I shall continue to give this Prince my esteem.

"Fully persuaded that nothing can be more agreeable to my subjects, nor more conducive to the important objects of our alliance, than to take upon myself the command of my forces by land and sea, I have adopted this resolution; and I lose no time in making your Imperial and royal Majesty acquainted with it, considering that you will see

in this communication a new proof of my attachment to your person, and of my constant wish to maintain those intimate relations which bind me to your Imperial and royal Majesty with that fidelity which has always characterised me, and of which your Majesty has received the most striking and repeated proofs.

"The continuance of my rheumatic pains, which has deprived me for some days of the use of my hand, debars me from the pleasure of writing to you with my own hand.

"I am, with sentiments of the most perfect esteem, and the most sincere attachment, your Imperial and royal Majesty's brother,

"CHARLES.

"At Aranjuez, the 18th of March, 1808."

"*In the letter in which Charles gave an account of this important event*" (his abdication), &c.—Page 33. "*Charles IV. signed, on the 21st of March, a solemn protest against his abdication.*"—Page 35.

Both the letter and the protest are so fully described in the text, that I have thought it unnecessary to insert them in the Appendix.

"*Similar ideas and sentiments were expressed in several other letters, amongst which those of the Queen of Etruria were distinguished by the vehemence of her supplications,*" &c.—Pages 37, 38.

Maria Louisa's letter (Queen of Spain) of the 21st of March is fully described in page 37. The following letter from the Queen of Etruria to the Grand Duke de Berg is characteristic :—

"SIR, MY BROTHER,

"I have just seen the adjutant-commandant, who has delivered me your letter; from which I learn, with the greatest pain, that my father and mother will not have the pleasure of seeing you; a pleasure for which they wished so much, confiding as they do in you alone, who have it in your power to restore them peace. The poor Prince of the Peace, who is covered with wounds and contusions, languishes in prison, and continually wishes for the terrible moment of death.

"He mentions nobody but his friend the Grand Duke de Berg; he says that it is to him alone he looks up for safety. My father, my mother, and I, have spoken to your adjutant-commandant. He will tell you every thing. My only confidence is in your friendship for me, and that you will save my father, my mother, and myself, as well as the poor prisoner. I have not time to add more. I place all my hopes in you. My father adds two lines to this letter; and I am, from my heart, your most affectionate sister and friend,

"MARIA LOUISA.

"Aranjuez, the 22d of March, 1808."

Letter from King Charles, accompanying the preceding:—

"SIR, AND DEAREST BROTHER,

"Having spoken to your adjutant-commandant, and having informed him of every thing that passed, I beg of you to do me the favour to acquaint the Emperor with my request, that he will liberate the Prince of the Peace, who suffers only because he is the friend of France, and that he will permit us to go with him to some country which will be better suited to my health. For the present, we go to Badajoz. I hope that before we go you will send us an answer, if you cannot absolutely see us; for my hopes are only in you and the Emperor.

"I am your most affectionate brother and friend, from the bottom of my heart,

"CHARLES."

The following is the letter of the Queen of Spain to the Grand Duke de Berg, accompanying the two preceding letters:—

"SIR, MY DEAR BROTHER,

"I have not a friend except your Imperial Highness. The King, my husband, writes to you, and solicits your friendship. It is only in you and in your friendship that we now confide. My hus-

band and I join in requesting that you will afford us the greatest proof of your regard, by making the Emperor acquainted with the sincere friendship and attachment which we have always entertained for him and for you, as well as for the French. The poor Prince of the Peace, who has been imprisoned and ill-treated because he is our friend, and who is devoted to you as well as to all France, is in prison for that reason, and for having wished your troops to come here, as also because he is our only friend. He wished, and was preparing to proceed to your Imperial Highness, and invokes your name and that of the Emperor. Will your Imperial Highness obtain permission for us to spend our days in quiet, in some place suitable to the King's health—which, as well as my own, is in a delicate state—in order that, together with our only friend, the friend of your Imperial Highness, the poor Prince of the Peace, we may finish our days in tranquillity? My daughter shall be my interpreter, if I should have the satisfaction of seeing and conversing with your Imperial Highness. Will you use all your efforts to see us, if it should be only for an instant, by night or by day, or as you wish? Your Imperial Highness's adjutant-commandant will tell you every thing which we have said to him. I trust that your Imperial Highness will obtain for us our wishes and requests; and that your Imperial High-

ness will pardon my interlineations, and my forgetfulness in omitting to give you the title of Highness, as I do not know where I am; and be assured that it is not through want of respect or friendship for you.

"I pray God to take your Imperial Highness into his holy and worthy keeping.

"Your most affectionate,

"LOUISA.

"Aranjuez, 22d March, 1808."

Letter from the Queen of Etruria to the Grand Duke de Berg, enclosing one from her mother the Queen of Spain, in which she gives an account of the tumult at Aranjuez.

"SIR, MY BROTHER,

"My mother sends you the enclosed letter that you may preserve it. In the name of Heaven, do not abandon us, my dear!—we place all our hopes on you. Grant me the consolation of coming to see my father and mother. Send me a consolatory answer, and do not forget a friend who loves you from her heart.

"MARIA LOUISA.

"Madrid, 26th March, 1808."

Letter enclosed in the above:—

"MY DEAR DAUGHTER,

"You will inform the Grand Duke de Berg of

the situation of the King my husband, of mine, and that of the poor Prince of the Peace.

"My son Ferdinand was at the head of the conspiracy. The troops were gained by him: he had a light held out at one of the windows, as a signal for the commencement of the explosion. At the same moment, the guards and persons who were at the head of this revolution, fired two shots, which were said, but most untruly, to have proceeded from the guard of the Prince of the Peace. At the same instant, the body guards, and the Spanish infantry and Walloons, were under arms; and hereupon, without any orders from their superior officers, they themselves, the guards, called together all the people; they, of their own accord, threatened whomsoever they wished. My son, whom the King and I sent for, to tell him that the King his father was ill with his rheumatic pains, and could not appear at the window, and that he ought to appear there in his name to tranquillize the people, answered us with great firmness that he would do no such thing, for at the moment he came to us the firing commenced, and he did not wish to appear. The next day we asked him if he could not put a stop to the tumult, and tranquillize the people? He told us that he would do it immediately; that he would send for the officers second in command, belonging to the body guards, the Spanish and Walloon guards; that he would send one of his

servants to tell the people and the troops to be tranquil; that he would send also to Madrid, to tell the persons who were invited to come to inflame this revolution, as it had already gone too far, not to come; and that, if they were on the road, they should return. Just as he had given his orders, the poor Prince of the Peace was discovered. The King sent for his son, and desired him to seek out this unfortunate prince—the victim of his attachment to us, of his friendship for the French, and, above all, for the Grand Duke. He proceeded as his father had commanded, ordered that the Prince should not be touched, and accompanied him to the quarters of the body guards. He told him with a tone of command, as if he were the king, "I grant you your life." The Prince of the Peace, in spite of his wounds, thanked him, and asked him if he were already king; for that was in contemplation, as the King, the Prince of the Peace and I, intended, after seeing the Emperor, to arrange every thing, and also the marriage, and then to abdicate in favour of his son. He replied, "No, not yet, but I shall be very shortly." My son commanded every thing without being king, and without knowing that he should be king. The orders which the King my husband gave, were not attended to. My son acted and spoke in every respect as a king. Afterwards, a tumult more violent than the former, directed against the King's life and mine, was to

have taken place on the 19th, the day of the abdication, which obliged us to take that step. From the moment of the abdication, my son acted in every respect as a king, through contempt of his father, without having the least consideration for us. At the same moment he sent for all the persons who were in his favour, and who never have been our faithful subjects or friends; he did every thing which he could do to annoy the King his father; he urged us to set out; he indicated Badajos to us; he left us without the least consideration, highly satisfied to be what he is, and that we are going away.

"As for the poor Prince of the Peace, my son did not wish that he should even be thought of. He is with the guards, who have orders to give him no answers, and have treated him with the greatest inhumanity. My son has brought about this conspiracy for the purpose of dethroning his father. Our lives have been far from safe; that of the Prince of the Peace is by no means secure. The King, my husband, and I, expect from the Grand Duke, that he will do every thing in his power for us, who have been always faithful allies of the Emperor, and great friends of the Grand Duke: the Prince of the Peace entertains the same feelings, and always has entertained them, as would appear if he could express his sentiments; and, even situated as he is, he does nothing but utter wishes for the presence of his great friend

the Grand Duke. We entreat of him to save the Prince, to save us, and to let us remain together always, that we may finish our days near each other, for it is our wish to end them tranquilly in a milder climate, sequestered from the world of intrigue, and without authority, but with honour. Such are the King's wishes and mine; such, also, are the wishes of the Prince of the Peace, who was always desirous of being upon good terms with my son; but my son, who has no generosity nor frankness, never wished it, always declaring war against him, and also against the King and me. His ambition is great; he looks upon his parents as if they bore no such relation to him: What will he do to others? If the Grand Duke could see us, we should wish it much; and also, that he should visit his friend, who suffers because he is and always has been the friend of the French and the Emperor; I hope every thing from him, recommending to him also my poor daughter, Maria Louisa, who is not beloved by her brother. We shall not go, and we hope every thing from him."

The following is an extract from a letter which was written in her own hand by the Queen of Spain to the Grand Duke of Berg, on the 27th of March, 1808, the day after the date of the preceding document.

"My son knows nothing; and it will be necessary to keep him in ignorance of all our proceed-

ings. His character is false, nothing affects him; he is void of feeling, little disposed to clemency; he is led by evil counsellors, and ambition, which rules him, will prompt him to do any thing. He makes promises, but he does not always perform them. In my opinion the Grand Duke ought to take measures to prevent the Prince of the Peace from being killed, for the body guards have said that they would kill him, sooner than allow him to be taken out of their hands, even though the Grand Duke and the Emperor should command it. They are enraged, and they inflame the people, every body, and also my son, who is entirely in their favour. They are excited also against the King and me. We are in the hands of the Grand Duke and the Emperor, and we entreat that he will do us the favour to come and see us, and to take all possible steps for insuring the safety of the Prince of the Peace: and also, that he would grant the requests which we have already made. The ambassador is intirely in favour of my son, which makes me tremble for the consequences, for he neither likes the Grand Duke nor the Emperor; he likes nothing but despotism: it is of my son I speak. I trust the Grand Duke is persuaded, that we do nothing through a desire of vengeance, nor through resentment for the manner in which he has treated us; for we ask nothing from the Grand Duke and the Emperor save tranquillity."

The following is an extract from a long letter, without any date, in which the Queen of Spain traces a plan for the Duke de Berg to march his troops to where the Prince of the Peace was confined, and to rescue that individual from the hands of the Spanish guards, who, she feared, would poison him, or shoot him, if they had an opportunity, and knew that he was about to be saved. "If time be lost," she adds, "his life is not secure; be assured he is in the hands of lions and ravenous tigers." She then proceeds to speak of her son. "My son was closeted yesterday, after dinner, with Infantado, Escoiquiz, that wicked priest, and St. Charles, the most malignant of all: this has alarmed us; they remained together from half-past one to half-past three o'clock. The gentleman who goes (to meet the Emperor) with my son Charles, is the cousin of St. Charles; he has some talent and information, but he is an evil-minded American, and most hostile to us, although he has received every thing which he has from my husband, and at the request of the poor Prince of the Peace, whose relation, he said, he was."

Extract from a note written by the Queen of Spain, and sent by her to the Grand Duke de Berg, in 1808:

"I received yesterday a communication from a person from Mahon, requesting a secret audience

from me, after the King, my husband, should have retired to bed, proposing to give me the most important information concerning the state of affairs there, and demanding that I should furnish him with six or eight millions, which I myself should ask from the Philippine Company by way of loan, for the purpose of bringing about a counter-revolution, of delivering the Prince of the Peace, and acting against the French. The King and I had him immediately sent to prison, where he was ordered to be kept without communication with any body until the whole truth shall be known. We believe that he is an English emissary, and that his object was to ruin us; the King and the Prince of the Peace being, and always having been, the only friends of the French." The note, after urging again in the most anxious terms the Grand Duke to interfere for the Prince of the Peace, thus proceeds: "My son sent for the son of Biergol, who is employed in the department of state for foreign affairs. My son saw him in his chamber, in the presence of Infantado and all the ministers, and asked him—'What news from the *Sitio?* * and how does the King go on there?' He answered, with truth, 'Nothing new; the King goes out very little: the Queen has not gone out at all: they see nobody; they have ordered

* The name of *Sitio* is indiscriminately applied to any of the country palaces near Madrid.

apartments to be prepared for the Grand Duke and the Emperor, if they should come.' He was ordered to return hither, and to stay with his father, who, as treasurer, looks to our accounts until he leaves this. All those who adhere to us are called deserters. I see that some strong step is about to be taken against us. We are in great danger; Infantado and the ministers are most wicked, more so even than the others."

The following is an extract from a note in the hand-writing of the Queen of Spain, which seems to have been written about the beginning of April, 1808. It was sent by the Queen of Etruria, her daughter, to the Grand Duke of Berg :—

"I have seen the Extraordinary Gazette which speaks only of the documents relating to the affair of the Escurial having been found amongst the papers of the poor Prince of the Peace. It is full of falsehood. Those documents the King kept in his own table, and gave them to the poor Prince of the Peace, that he might deliver them to the Grand Duke for the purpose of being laid before the Emperor on the part of the King, my husband; but as they are written by the minister of grace and justice, and signed by my son, they will change and write what they please, as if it were the truth, and all those who are in office will do every thing which my son commands them, as will also all others. If the Grand Duke have not the

goodness and humanity to prevail on the Emperor to order these proceedings to be stopped, and that promptly too, the poor friend of the Grand Duke, of the French, of the Emperor, of the King, and of myself, will lose his head on the scaffold, and then it will be my turn, for they say as much, and I am exceedingly afraid that they will not give time for the arrival of the Emperor's answer and determination. They will make promises, but they will hasten the execution, in order that when the Emperor's resolution arrives they cannot save him; they will have already decapitated him. The King my husband and I cannot see with indifference this horrible outrage against their intimate friend and the friend of the Grand Duke. He suffers because he is the friend of the Grand Duke, of the Emperor, and of the French: of that there is no doubt. The declarations which my son made are not mentioned, and if they were, they would not be such as he uttered. They accuse the poor Prince of the Peace of an attempt against the life and throne of my son: it is false, it is exactly the reverse. In every thing their object is to criminate this innocent Prince of the Peace, our common and only friend, in order still further to inflame the public, and to persuade them that it is necessary to heap all possible infamy upon him; then they will come to me, for they anxiously wished to do so during the proceedings on the

first affair. The Grand Duke can tell my son to suspend the cause and retain the papers until the Emperor comes or sends his orders, and in the mean time it will be necessary for the Grand Duke to take the person of his poor friend under his own care, to remove the guards which are posted near him, and to substitute his own, in order to prevent him from being killed; for this is the wish of those who defame him and the King my husband: for they say that it will be necessary to institute proceedings against us, and that we must render an account of every thing which we have done. My son has a very bad heart, his character is sanguinary, he has never loved his father nor me! His advisers thirst also for blood; their only pleasure is in making persons unhappy, and at heart they have no feeling for a father or mother. Their wish is to do us all possible injury; but the King and I have more interest in saving the life and honour of our innocent friend, than even our own. My son is the enemy of the French, although he may say the contrary. I fear that he will make some attempt against us. The people are brought over by money, and they are enraged against the poor Prince of the Peace, and the King my husband and me, because we are the friends of the French, and have caused them to come here. The people have my son at their head, although he endeavours to gain over the Emperor, the

Grand Duke, and the French, in order to render his blow more sure."

"*In order to avail himself of these fortunate circumstances, he wished to send two couriers to Madrid, with dispatches for the Infante Don Antonio.*"—Page 70. See also page 79.

Letter from Prince Ferdinand to the Infante Don Antonio.

"MY DEAR ANTONIO,

"I have received your letter of the 24th, and have read the copy of Murat's letter, and your answer, with which I am perfectly satisfied. I never doubted your prudence and your attachment to my person, and I know not how to reward you. I cannot imagine how all this will end; I hope only that it will terminate to the satisfaction of all parties. I must inform you that the Emperor has in his possession a letter from Maria Louisa, which states that the abdication of my father was compulsory. Act as if you were ignorant of this, but at the same time shape your conduct in consequence of it, in such a manner that these cursed French shall practise none of their treachery upon you.

"I am your affectionate brother, &c.

"FERDINAND.

"Bayonne, 28th April, 1808."

"*Escoiquiz, however, wrote an answer at great length, which was signed by Ferdinand.*"—Page 80.

Cevallos has printed in the appendix to his "Statement of facts," the copy of another letter which he says was written on this occasion by Ferdinand himself. A minute of it was communicated to Napoleon and Charles, but they would not suffer the tone which it breathed, and the letter mentioned in the text was substituted. The rejected letter was as follows:

"MY HONOURED FATHER AND LORD,

"I have had the honour to send your Majesty, on the 1st instant, the renunciation which I have made of the crown in your favour. I thought it necessary to accompany that renunciation with conditions suitable to your Majesty's dignity, to the peace of my kingdom, and to the preservation of my honour and my reputation.

"It was not without great surprise that I have witnessed the indignation excited in your Majesty by conditions which were dictated by prudence, and demanded by the love which I owe to my subjects.

"Your Majesty thought yourself authorized, by that feeling alone, to treat me harshly in the presence of my honoured mother and the Emperor, and to bestow upon me the most humiliating epithets; and not satisfied with this, you require of me to send you my resignation purely and simply, and

without any restrictions, under pain of treating me and all my suite as conspirators. In this state of things, I make my renunciation in the manner which your Majesty commands me, in order that the Government of Spain may return to the state in which it was on the 19th of March, the day on which you spontaneously abdicated your crown in my favour.

"That God may have in his holy keeping your Majesty's important life, is the desire of your most affectionate and submissive son.

"FERDINAND.

"PEDRO CEVALLOS.

"Bayonne, 6th May, 1808."

"*On the 6th of August he congratulated him* (Napoleon) *in the most respectful terms on the victories with which Providence had crowned his arms; and on the 25th of September he assured him,*" &c.—Page 97.

The following are the letters referred to:—

"SIRE,

"The pleasure I have experienced, on seeing in the public papers the victories with which Providence again crowns the august brows of your Imperial and royal Majesty, and the great interest which we take, my brother, my uncle, and myself, in all that concerns your Imperial and royal Ma-

jesty, induce us to felicitate you with that respect, love, sincerity, and gratitude we feel in living under the protection of your Imperial and royal Majesty.

"My brother and my uncle charge me to offer to your Majesty their respectful homage, and they join with him who has the honour to be, with the most high and respectful consideration, Sire, your Imperial and royal Majesty's most humble and obedient servant,

"FERDINAND.

"Valençay, August 6, 1809."

"SIRE,

"My respectful gratitude for the goodness of your Imperial and royal Majesty is too sincere for me to delay one moment an answer to the letter of the 16th instant, with which you honour me.

"I return thanks to your Imperial and royal Majesty for the interest and paternal love which your august person feels in my favour, and on which I shall ever rely. My affection towards your Imperial and royal Majesty will never belie these sentiments, and my blind obedience to the orders and wishes of your Imperial and royal Majesty.

"Sire, I deposit in the bosom of your Imperial and royal Majesty the most ardent wishes for the prosperity of your reign, and the sentiments of my

most respectful and absolute adhesion to your august person. Sire, I remain your Imperial and royal Majesty's most humble and obedient servant,

"FERDINAND.

"Valençay, December 21, 1810."*

"*After this event, the name of Ferdinand has no place in history, until that epoch when fortune,*" &c.—Page 103.

The two following letters to Napoleon, however, are too characteristic to be omitted :—

"SIRE,

"It is with the purest joy that I have heard the important news of your Imperial and royal Majesty's marriage with the Archduchess Maria Louisa. My profound and real attachment to your august person makes me feel more than I can possibly express so fortunate an event, which secures at the same time the felicity of your Imperial Majesty, and that of your people, and, in short, prepares the prosperity of the whole of Europe.

"Deign, therefore, Sire, to allow me to blend my voice with the acclamations of love and joy with which your throne resounds, and to express to you, as well on my own part as in the name of my brother and my uncle, these sentiments

* The date of this letter is erroneous in the text.

with which we are sincerely penetrated, together with our ardent wishes for your preservation and that of your august spouse.

" May I venture to express, on this memorable occasion, to your Majesty, that my most ardent wish, that upon which my mind is ever intent, would be to obtain permission to proceed to Paris, to be present at the marriage of your Imperial Majesty? This kindness would fill me with eternal gratitude, and enable me to manifest to the eyes of all Europe the sincere attachment I bear in my heart towards your august person, and that I am, and ever shall be, faithfully devoted to your Imperial and royal Majesty.

" It is, therefore, Sire, with the fullest confidence that I ask, and hope to obtain, as a special act of kindness, permission to proceed to Paris, in order to be present at the august ceremony of the marriage of my only father, of my protector, and of my sovereign.

" If I obtain this permission, so anxiously desired, I should carry with me into my retreat the happy, and, for my heart, consoling recollection of having, on so fortunate and affecting an occasion, enjoyed the prerogatives of a French prince; and this favour would double the value I attach to so glorious a title.

" Rest assured, Sire, that during the whole of my life I shall appreciate this favour as one of the most striking proofs of your tenderness and pater-

nal solicitude towards me; a favour which would serve to prove the frankness and sincerity of all my proceedings, to confirm the good opinion I desire to enjoy in the eyes of your Majesty, and to confound your enemies.

"I have commissioned the Count D'Alberg to deliver this letter to you, and to renew to your Majesty the sentiments it contains, approving of all he may have the happiness to tell you on this subject. I consider it my duty to avail myself of this opportunity to assure your Imperial Majesty that we deeply regret M. D'Alberg's departure, as his conduct towards us has made us feel for him an attachment, and a justly merited esteem.

"Sire, I repose in the breast of your Imperial and royal Majesty the most ardent wishes for the prosperity of your reign, and the sentiments of the most respectful and absolute devotion towards your august person. Sire, I remain your Imperial and royal Majesty's most humble, faithful, and obedient servant,

"FERDINAND.

"Valençay, March 21, 1810."

"SIRE,

"The documents lately published in the *Moniteur* have made known to the whole world those sentiments of perfect devotion with which I am penetrated towards your Imperial and royal Majesty, and at the same time my anxious desire

to become your adopted son*. The publicity which your Majesty has allowed to be given to my letter gives me room to hope that you do not disapprove of these sentiments, and the wish I have formed; and this hope fills me with joy.

"Allow me, therefore, Sire, to deposit in your bosom the thoughts of a heart, I do not hesitate to assert, worthy of belonging to you by the ties of adoption, that your Majesty would be pleased to unite my destinies to those of a French Princess of your own choice. 'You would thus give effect to the most ardent of my wishes; and in such an union, besides my own personal happiness, I should experience the consoling certainty that Europe would be convinced of my unalterable devotion to your Imperial and royal Majesty's will, and that you yourself deign to make some return for sentiments so sincere.

"May I venture to add, Sire, that this union, and the publication of my happiness, which I would make to the whole of Europe, if your Majesty permitted, might have a salutary effect on the fate of the Two Spains, and would deprive mad and furious people of a pretext to continue to deluge their country with blood in the name of a Prince, the eldest of their ancient dynasty, become, by a solemn treaty, by his own choice and

* The documents here referred to are the letters which just precede this one, which were published by Napoleon in the *Moniteur*.

by the most glorious of all adoptions, a French prince, and the son of your Imperial and royal Majesty?

"I dare to hope, Sire, that wishes so ardent, and a devotion so perfectly absolute, will move the magnanimous heart of your Majesty, and that you will deign to join my felicity to that of the numbers you have already rendered happy.

"Sire, I deposit in the bosom of your Imperial and royal Majesty the most ardent wishes for the prosperity of your reign, together with the sentiments of the most respectful and absolute devotion towards your sacred person.—Sire, I remain your Imperial and royal Majesty's most humble, faithful, and obedient servant,

"FERDINAND.

"Valençay, May 8, 1810."

"*The propositions of the diplomatist were evaded by that prince and his advisers; and his answer to Napoleon was,*" &c.—Page 106.

Letter from Ferdinand VII. to the Emperor:

"SIRE,

"The Count de la Forest has delivered to me the letter which your Imperial Majesty has done me the honour to write to me. I thank you for the honour which you have done me in desiring to treat with me, in order to attain the object which you propose, of terminating the affairs of Spain.

"Your Imperial Majesty says in your letter, that *England is propagating anarchy and jacobinism, and is endeavouring to annihilate the Spanish monarchy. I cannot see without the greatest pain,* your Majesty adds, *the destruction of a nation so near my dominions, and with which I have so many maritime interests in common. I write, therefore, to take away every pretext for English influence, and re-establish the ties of friendship and good neighbourhood which have so long existed between the two nations.*

"The only answer which I can make to these propositions is that which I have already given verbally to the Count de la Forest, when he presented them to me on the part of your Imperial and royal Majesty. I shall always profess the same attachment and the same respect of which I have given so many proofs to your Imperial Majesty; but I can do nothing without the consent of the Spanish nation, and consequently of the Regency. Your Majesty brought me to Valençay, and if your Majesty wishes that I should remount the throne of Spain, your Majesty has means for treating with the Regency which are not within my reach; or if your Majesty wish absolutely to negotiate with me, as I have no confidential person here, it is necessary that the Regency should send deputies to me, who would inform me of the state of things in Spain, and assist me to render her truly happy; their presence alone would give to any treaty